

The Ryedale Historian

Number Seven

1974

EDITOR'S COPY



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The Ryedale Historian

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Number 7

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COVER:

Our cover shows a detail from the illuminated Queen Mary Psalter (Ms. Roy 2B VII f), by permission of the British Museum. Three men are hauling a net into their boat and picking out the catch - two pike eating an eel from opposite ends. The net may represent a small seine net, but more probably is a tubular eel-trap. See the notes on fish-ponds in this issue.

Editorial

As we go to press, the fuel crisis, three-day week, galumphing inflation, and other omens of early 1974, might make all but the most optimistic doubt if Number 7 will ever reach its readers. But - albeit with provisional apologies for a certain delay in its appearance - we reckon that it will indeed come out, and that it should not require a juggernaut-load of gold bars to pay for a copy.

Iron Age, Anglo-Saxon, medieval, 18th century landscaping: there should be something here for nearly everybody of an archaeological-historical bent. But we have never before come quite so close to the present as with Mr. Capron's article on the "Battle of Farndale" - that David-and-Goliath contest between a handful of local people and the combined strength of the Corporations of Hull and Sheffield, which is already without a doubt 'local history'. So far, with few resources but a good sense of timing and a bit of luck, David is well ahead on points. But Goliath has not thrown in the sponge, and lest anybody be tempted to think the battle is over and done with, we should recall cases like Maplin and - a recent and somewhat closer parallel - the unsuccessful struggle of Anglesey residents to prevent an international oil company establishing an offshore terminal for supertankers on a holiday coast. To put a long-standing mis-quotation right for once: "The condition upon which God hath given liberty to men is eternal vigilance" (John Philpot Curran's comment on the right of election of the Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1790).

In recent issues we have rather abandoned the custom of providing notes on our contributors. Most of the writers this time are familiar enough to members, but a brief but warm word of welcome to our President, Sir Martyn Beckett, and his first contribution to our pages. And another word, of welcome but also of explanation, for T. ('Tom') and T. M. ('Thomas') Charles-Edwards. The former is erstwhile Senior History Master at Ampleforth College, and still teaching there; the latter - his son - tutors in History at Corpus Christi, Oxford, and holds a Diploma of Celtic Studies from Trinity College, Dublin.

JOHN McDONNELL

(1 Church Street, Helmsley, York)

The Duncombe and Rievaulx Terraces

by Sir Martyn Beckett, M.C., B.A., A.R.I.B.A.

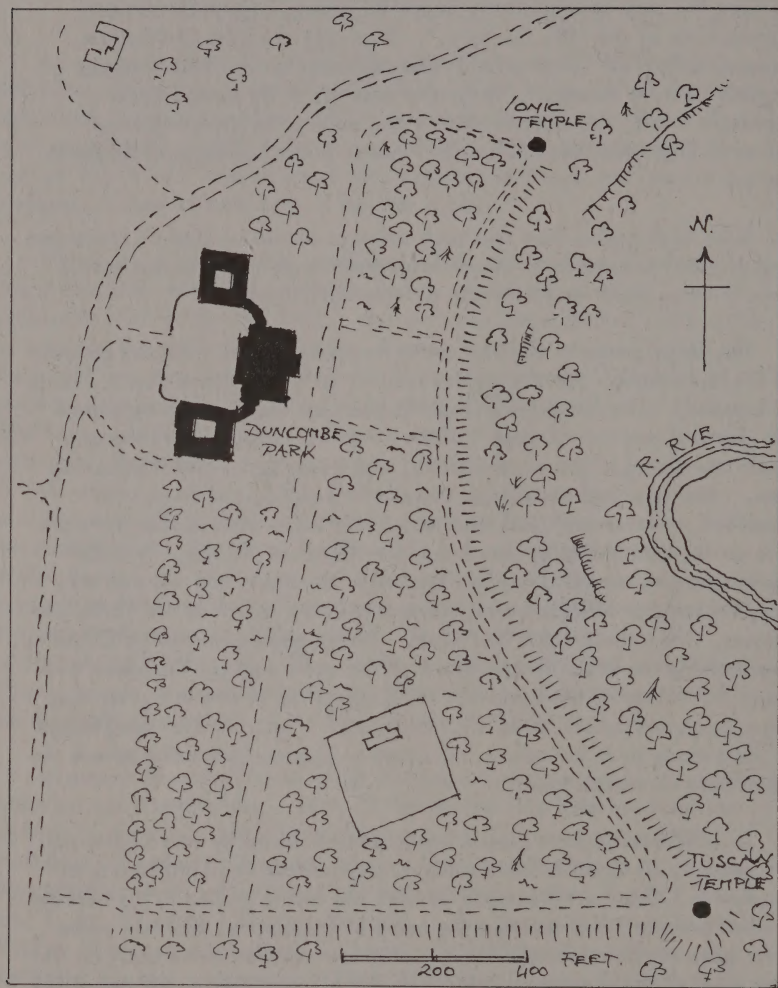
"The grass Terraces of Duncombe and Rievaulx are unique, and perhaps the most spectacularly beautiful among English landscape conceptions of the 18th Century." Thus says the late Christopher Hussey, editor of 'Country Life' and authority on the 18th Century English Country House. "They (the grounds of Dunscombe Park) represent one of the most extensive and boldest landscaping enterprises of England," says Nikolaus Pevsner in his Buildings of England series,

Such high praise from two such eminent critics of English landscape and architecture deserves closer inspection as to how this man-made beauty came about and to whom we can attribute it.

The large property centred round Helmsley passed from the estates of Rievaulx Abbey and the de Ros family, to the Manners and the Earls of Rutland. The daughter of the 6th Earl was the greatest heiress of her day and married George Villiers, the first Duke of Buckingham. Their son George, the second Duke, was a handsome and fascinating man. He inherited his estates when still a child, and fought for Charles I. After the Civil War his estates were confiscated, he went into exile, and Helmsley was handed to General Fairfax. In 1657 Buckingham returned to England and with his charm and wit not only won the hand of Fairfax's daughter but also the return of his Yorkshire Estates. Here enters the first clue. Buckingham also owned Cliveden, overlooking the River Thames in much the same way as Duncombe overlooks the valley of the Rye, and the similarities of site and river may have suggested possibilities at Duncombe. It may be that some lodge or vista made by Buckingham indicated to Thomas Duncombe where the new house should be built.

In 1687 Buckingham died a bankrupt and Helmsley was sold to pay his debts to Sir Charles Duncombe, a city banker and Lord Mayor of London in 1708. At his death in 1711 the estate passed to his nephew Thomas Browne, who assumed the name of Duncombe, and two years later gave his benefactor's name to the new mansion to be built on the east edge of the plateau, a mile from the historic castle and two miles from the ruined abbey.

At this period Vanburgh (or Vanbrugh) was considered to be the foremost consultant in the land on the visual aspects of the layout, siting, and design of a great house and it seems likely that he not only advised Duncombe on the choice of site, but left him with some sketch designs for a house which could be worked up by the local architect William Wakefield, squire of Huby Hall near Bradford. It



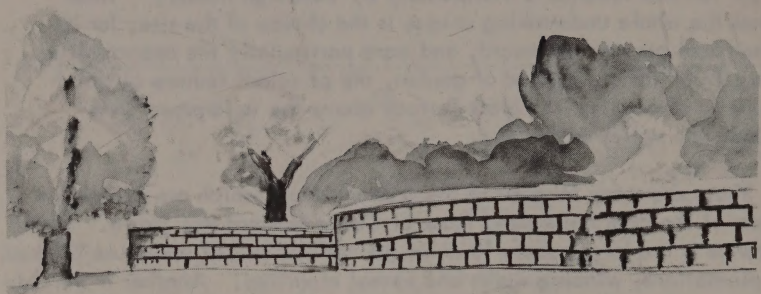
PLAN OF THE DUNCOMBE TERRACE

seems also certain that Vanburgh, a professional gardener as well as architect and playwright, had some say in the garden lay-out, as one of the Terrace Temples is indisputably by Vanburgh himself. What makes the whole undertaking unique is the choice of the site, for its sensational prospect eastward, and more particularly the opportunities thus offered for a new kind of garden, the principal feature of which would be a wide curving grass Terrace above the escarpment overlooking the valley of the Rye.

There are many features in the garden layout which are common to others of the date, including those of Castle Howard and Stowe. One instance is the large square lawn on the central axis of the house flanked by plantations, winding walks and formal clearings. Another is the ride at right angles to the lawn passing in front of the house in either direction. But the Terrace following the contours on the east and south is unique to Duncombe. This broad Terrace is embanked on its outer edge and flanked by woodland on the inner, forming a natural Ha-Ha punctuated by two temples. An Ionic rotunda by Vanburgh himself terminates the north end of the Terrace, and a circular Doric Temple not completed until after 1730, and probably by Robinson, stands at the southern end of the crescent-shaped walk and where it turns westwards to follow the escarpment and die out in the "Deer Park Plain". Both Temples stand on a slightly raised grass mound and command exquisite views up and down the dale.

A naturally-aligned walk is also found at Castle Howard - the Wray Wood Walk, and a natural Ha-Ha with Temples at either end is seen at Stowe where Bridgeman the gardener was the originator. Which came first? Hussey suggests that, while the earlier embanked walks at Stowe were integral to the original design of c. 1713, the Ha-Ha proper is almost certainly a good deal later (1725-30). The date of the Castle Howard walk can only be inferred from Vanburgh's having proposed the Temple to which it leads in 1724. The Duncombe Terrace may not have been finished as regards both its Temples till about 1730, but it is probably that the character of its middle section was determined when the site of the house was chosen in 1713. In that case the effects which the device of the Ha-Ha and the following of natural contours were to open to landscape gardening would be obtained at Duncombe by natural means a decade before their full exploitation at Stowe and Castle Howard.

Another character, Stephen Switzer, now must be mentioned, for it is possible, although unproven, that he may have been the garden designer at Duncombe. The evidence is in his book "*Ichnographia Rustica*" of 1718. In it he describes the effects of the contoured Ha-Ha: "the distant country land open to view", and "the eye not bounded by high walls;" he recommended that gardens be bounded by Terraces or raised fortifications work - the digging of the ditch makes the



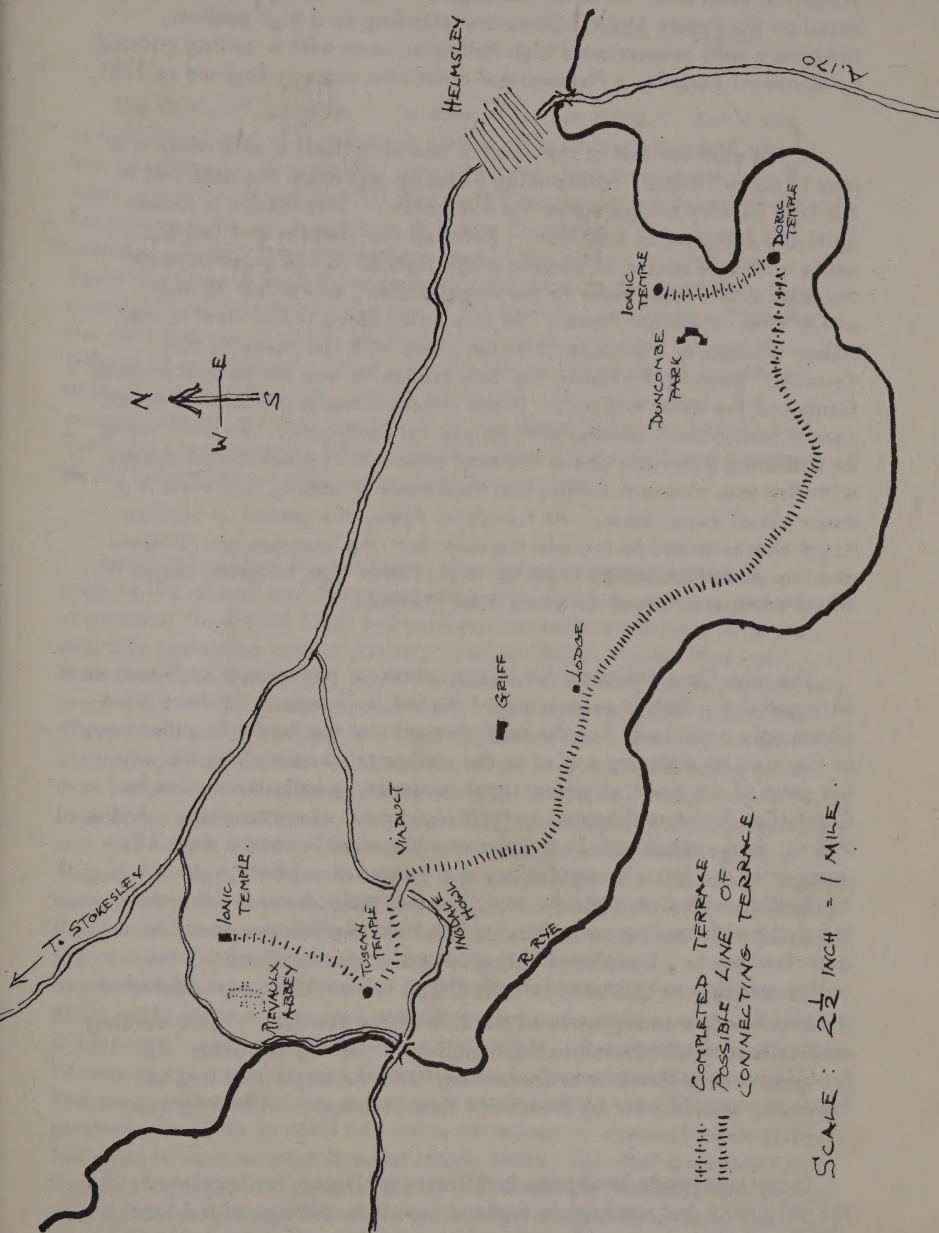
THE MASONRY REVETMENT AT DUNCOMBE PARK. TERRACE THE FIRST PROTOTYPE HA-HA.

Terrace on the inside. As Laurence Whistler has remarked, "of course a Ha-Ha was the next step - but the step remained to be taken."

It was in fact taken, at Duncombe at the north end of the site to link the Terrace around the Ionic rotunda and continue it westwards. What emerges is a primitive prototype Ha-Ha. Either to retain old trees or to reflect the plan of the rotunda, it follows a serpentine course and is built as a retaining wall with heavily rusticated masonry - a Vanburgh characteristic, incidentally, but corresponding to Switzer's "raised fortification work".

The date of this prototype Ha-Ha would appear to coincide with the building of the Rotunda and to be 1718 when the house was finished and Vanburgh visited Yorkshire. This would predate Bridgeman's Ha-Ha at Stowe by a few years. Bridgeman and Switzer were friends and it is known that Switzer gave some of his garden designs to Bridgeman, who made copies of them, but there is nothing of Switzer's work existing to compare Duncombe with, so that we will never know for sure who was the instigator.

Thomas Duncombe III succeeded in 1745 and it was he who conceived the idea of continuing the Duncombe Terrace along the edge of the escarpment overlooking the river Rye and terminating it above Rievaulx Abbey. This was indeed an ambitious plan, the length of the finished Terrace being nearly three miles long. That the plan was seriously intended is given substance by the recent find of a quantity of dressed masonry by the side of the Helmsley-Scawton road. This road runs down a steep gill, which the scenic drive or walk would have had to bridge in the form of a viaduct. In the event only the Terrace above the Abbey was completed; according to T. Gill, the local historian, in 1758.



The Rievaulx Terrace is like the original at Duncombe with a Temple at each end; an Ionic rectangular temple at the northern end, based on the Roman Maison Carree and standing on a high podium, contains a well proportioned high Palladian room with a ceiling painted by Giovanni Borgnis, a Piedmontese artist who came to England in 1751.

At the southern end of the Terrace and about half a mile away is a round Tuscan Temple, commanding views up and down the dale and to the 18th century bridge across the Rye below. This temple is almost certainly designed by Robinson. Between the Temples and Terrace winds a sinuous course of varying width from 60 to 100 yards between the edge of the steep bank to the Abbey below, and a belt of trees which form its eastern frame. As one walks along it the view to the Abbey changes as the angle of vision alters with the curve of the Terrace. Beyond the Abbey the dale curves its way northwards towards fields and the moors beyond. It was indeed a noble conception which cannot fail to move anyone with an eye for landscape. To walk along an unfolding panorama above the most romantic of great ruined abbeys with first one classical temple and then another coming into view is a major visual experience. At Fountains Abbey the garden of Studley Royal was extended to include the ruin, but the contours are different and the garden landscape leads up to it, rather than hovering above it. It was completed about ten years after Rievaulx.

The mid-Georgian taste for mixing classical elements of architecture with authentic Gothic ruins amidst informal landscape is nowhere more charmingly combined, but the new element was the "unfolding discovery" of the view at differing angles as the walker progresses along his way - the germ of the modern "space-time" concept, greatly developed by Capability Brown and Repton in their laying-out of approaches. Arthur Young, who visited both Duncombe and Rievaulx Terrace a mere 12 years after the latter's completion, was lyrical about both. In connection with Duncombe he says, "as you walk above it, the view is beheld with moving variation." The Rievaulx Terrace moved him even further - "it was bewitching; a noble winding Terrace, the valley weaving to right and left of a large ruined Abbey, an edging of shrubby wood, a strong wave in the line of the Terrace." This wording emphasised the difference in the handling of the two Terraces: the Bridgemanesque elements at Duncombe; and the serpentine line at Rievaulx, copied later by Brown and Kent in other parts of England.

Every man-made landscape is different and bears the imprint of the originator but nowhere in England have the contours of the land and the views to be seen from them been so originally perceived and successfully used.

The Battle of Farndale

by John T. Capron

The Battle of Farndale - "a damn close run thing." But it was in fact the climax of a campaign lasting at least four years and which had developed in August 1967 against a backcloth then nearly forty years old. For it was in 1933 that Hull Corporation purchased from Lord Feversham a site for a reservoir in Upper Farndale. The project lay uneasily dormant for a generation: but in the summer of 1967 the Yorkshire Ouse & Hull River Authority, pressed by the need for water supplies to be doubled by the end of the century, launched a "Scheme", the main feature of which would be a regulating reservoir across the dale at Church Houses. Although the site, with a natural catchment area of only 5,000 acres, was by no means technically ideal, the project was in line with the policy of the Water Resources Board, the national water advisory body, who still appear to regard land reservoirs as the lynch-pins of their water supply programmes.

Having launched their Scheme, the Authority were at pains to prepare the ground and the climate of public opinion, making contact at personal level with local authorities, conservation bodies, farmers, and dale residents; and in January 1969 at Church Houses they held their first Public Meeting, when the Scheme was, with maps, persuasively unrolled. While admitting that there might be some local impact and disruption their Landscape Architect explained how all would be expertly controlled and handled - indeed improved - leaving Farndale better than before. The audience remained sceptical, and, though only a lone voice expressed open uncompromising opposition, the opposition was then born. And by the time of the second Public Meeting, in August that year, it had noticeably and notably grown: for now it was seen to be spear-headed by Sir Robin Turton, local M.P. who had satisfied himself that over 90% of his dale constituents disliked the idea of the reservoir. So encouraged, the self-appointed leaders of the opposition (your contributor and Mr. & Mrs. Matthew Clark of Cropton Mill), still without organised support and on a shoestring basis, submitted a 13-point "case" against the reservoir. This, after some delay, found its way to the newly formed Committee on Environmental Conservation. The case was based on two main heads of objection, viz (i) that a reservoir would be in itself bad value for money - reservoirs being, in fact, out of date as regards water supply today, (ii) that a reservoir in Farndale would ruin a unique dale in the heart of a National Park - would indeed sabotage the whole conception and policy underlying National Parks. And it called for delay in the proposed legislation for the building of the reservoir pending full investigation of four main

viable suggested alternatives, viz: valley bore-holes, estuary barrage potentials, the proposed tidal sluice-gates at Barnby, and the possibilities of desalination.

On this basis, and in a modest way, a Petition to Parliament was also launched. Although by now - February 1970 - both the local National Park Committee and the national Countryside Commission had pronounced "non-objection" to the reservoir, the threat to Farndale as the Daffodil Dale undoubtedly struck a chord of sympathy with more than merely local reverberation, so that signatures to the Petition came from far and near. Cornwall and Scotland, Cumberland and Kent - all lent their aid. No organised body had as yet joined the fight, but local branches of both C.P.R.E. and Ramblers' Association showed their sympathy by notable help over the Petition: within weeks 10,930 signatures were "in the bag", the numbers only limited by the capacity of the organisers to cope with the response.

Nor did the Press stand aside: the Malton Gazette set out the "case" in extenso: the Northern Echo, with reporters Mike Amos and Harry Mead, carried a periodic feature "The Drowners": while the Yorkshire Post, particularly with Malcolm Barker's rallying article "Who Will Fight For The Lonely Places?", enormously encouraged the opposition and kept the public interested and informed. Nor, throughout the fight, did any paper deny space for relevant letters.

During 1970 and '71 events moved with speed - with baffling ebb and flow of fortune to either side - and not without drama. Thus early in 1970 the North Riding County Council decided to petition against the enabling Bill, while the River Authority took comfort in a further pronouncement by the Water Resources Board in firm continuing favour of the reservoir: and whereas in March the Northern Echo reprinted and circulated to every Member of Parliament a special article supporting the opposition case, and the Ryedale Branch of the C.P.R.E. officially joined the fight, the Bill itself triumphed in its progress through Parliament despite the highly effective intervention of Sir Robin Turton. For on the tenth of March 1970, after a long and tense debate, the Commons gave it a second reading by 167 votes to 61 against. Yet, on the seventh of May, a hastily summoned Special Meeting of the North Yorks Moors National Park Planning Committee agreed to oppose the building of the dam. And, as if in inspired support, and almost before the ink was dry on this resolution, a five-man Select Committee of the House of Commons flatly vetoed the reservoir. Obviously shaken, and protesting that they had no alternative plans, the River Authority still

refused to acknowledge defeat. But significantly they were soon announcing their intention of spending £100,000 on trial bore-holes in Ryedale. And, as a follow-up in Farndale in daffodil time, Matthew Clark and his helpers were again active in distributing 16,000 stickers and posters. Then, on 28th July 1971, the River Authority definitely stated their intention of postponing the Farndale plan. So started the uneasy truce, continuing as these notes are written.

But, it may well be asked, how did it come about that the country's largest water authority with enormous potential of technical expertise and long practical experience in this field, were so decisively defeated in their Farndale reservoir project by a shoestring opposition, non-technical and without experience? Perhaps the following factors may have contributed to the success of the opposition.

- (i) The grounds of objection were seen to be reasonable and the plea for delay pending investigation of viable alternatives was backed by factual arguments (showing that the homework had been done).
- (ii) The moment of climax came at a point of time favourable to the opposition, since 1970 was Conservation Year and the year of the creation of a specific Minister of the Environment.
- (iii) The climate was favourable: conventional land reservoirs appeared to be nearing the end of their period of value - even Sir William Goode, Chairman of the Water Resources Board, their diehard champion, was speaking in an ungarded moment of reservoirs as "a dying race". And in May 1969, at the Annual Conference of the Rivers Authorities Association itself, voice after voice condemned the siting of regulating reservoirs in the headwaters of their rivers (which is just what the Farndale dam would have been).

(Incidentally, the accepted price of conventional reservoir water - 15p. per 1,000 gal. - is misleading, based on times when land and labour were cheap and must be rising daily now that everything tends to rise, whereas the cost of water through desalination techniques tends to fall as those techniques improve - in fact the figure may now be as low as 20p. per 1,000 gal. at the place of production: and all this without weather interruption and on a 24-hour output).

- (iv) The fame of Farndale as the Daffodil Dale clearly helped, the daffodils being a rallying cry, but by no means the bastion of the defences. Harry Mead, in the May '72 Dalesman, puts the point in perspective: "Although the daffodil walks would be outside and below the reservoir, about a third of the 2,000 acres of daffodil reserve, including considerable spreads of the flowers, would be destroyed."
- (v) The Authority made a tactical mistake in the financial proviso in their Bill - since, under this, the rule previous applying under the Water Resources Act 1963 was held to be now reversed, so that no longer would those "directly benefiting" under the Scheme (i.e. Sheffield and Hull) bear the cost but the project would be "a charge upon abstractors generally..." This cost the promoters dear for it infuriated local ratepayers, who rallied angrily to the side of the opposition.

The Battle of Farndale may be regarded as a David and Goliath affair - admitting that the pebbles in the sling were, in this case, by no means little ones, but smoothly water-worn and weighty, and, in the event, they proved successful in toppling the giant and at least delaying the drowners' threat to Farndale. Before the threat revives (and if it does it will be under new water masters because of the recent legislation - though plus ça change...?) it is to be hoped that the trial bore-holes will have proved promising, the Barnby sluice fruitful, and the desalination potential convincingly developed: in short that the suggested alternatives may have been found to be viable indeed.

Postscript: As we go to press, the Water Resources Board has just published its latest report on water conservation. Farndale is not mentioned. Perhaps, therefore, the campaign is really over? Time will tell.

The Foundation of Lastingham

by T. M. Charles-Edwards

There are two problems about the foundation of the early Anglo-Saxon monastery at Lastingham which I shall discuss here. The first arises from the description which is given by Bede in his Ecclesiastical History of the English People: Lastingham is said by Bede to lie among steep and remote hills more appropriate as the hiding-place of robbers and the lairs of wild beasts than the homes of men; the site must be purged of its "former filth of wicked deeds" before the monastery can be established.¹ The second arises from a gap in Bede's account: he does not tell us in which year the monastery was founded. The first problem requires a sympathetic understanding of how Englishmen of the mid-seventh century, brought up in a particular monastic tradition, might think and act; the second depends upon an appreciation of the method by which Bede, who finished the Ecclesiastical History in 731, was able to establish the dates of events in the middle of the previous century. The first is an imaginative, the second a more technical problem.

The monastery was founded on land given for the purpose by Ethelwald, king of the Deirans, a people whose early settlements lay in the East Riding, but who had conquered most, at least, of modern Yorkshire by the mid-seventh century. Ethelwald's father, Oswald, had ruled both the Deirans and the Bernicians. The early centres of Bernician power lay in modern Northumberland, but when Lastingham was founded the king of the Bernicians ruled from Stirling in the north to, probably, the Tees in the south. In 642 Oswald had been killed in battle leaving his kingdom to his younger brother, Oswiu. Two years later, in 644, Oswiu lost control of the Deirans, who were ruled from then until 651 by Oswine, a member of the old royal family of Deira which had been displaced by Oswald. Ethelwald became king of the Deirans in or after 651 and seems to have lost his kingdom through supporting the losing side in a great campaign in the autumn of 655. Lastingham, therefore, was founded between 651 and 655. Later I shall suggest which of these five years was the date.

The founder of the monastery was Cedd, one of four brothers who were all priests, and two of whom, Cedd himself and Chad, became bishops. It is because of the considerable part in the conversion of England between the Thames and the Humber played by Cedd, a missionary among the Wast Saxons and the Middle Angles, and by Chad, one of the early bishops of the Mercians and the men of Lindsey, that Bede devoted the better part of a chapter to the foundation of Lastingham.

Bede's main source of information about the missionary activities of Cedd and Chad was the monastery of Lastingham. His other source was a monk called Trumberct who taught Bede scripture and had himself been taught by Chad.² It is not surprising, therefore, that Bede wrote about Cedd and Chad with warm sympathy. The other two brothers, Caelin and Cynibill, were both active in founding the monastery. Caelin was a priest in Ethelwald's household, and it was he who brought Cedd to the king's attention. Cynibill appears to have been Cedd's main assistant in the actual work of foundation.

Like other monastic foundations of the period, therefore, Lastingham was the product of co-operation between king and monks. It is not certain, however, whether Cedd and his brothers belonged to a Deiran or to a Bernician family. Ethelwald, though king of the Deirans, belonged to the Bernician royal family, so that Caelin's presence in his household proves nothing. Both Cedd and Chad were disciples of Aidan, the leader of the Irish mission to Northumbria (namely Bernicia and Deira). Aidan had founded the monaster of Lindisfarne in Bernicia in 635 or 636. This does not, however, show that they were Bernicians: Aidan's diocese embraced the whole of Northumbria since Oswald ruled over the Deirans as well as the Bernicians. One sentence in Bede's account suggests that the balance of probability is slightly in favour of a Deiran origin for Cedd's family. Bede says that Cedd was brought to the attention of Ethelwald when revisiting "his own province, that is that of the Northumbrians." Northumbria included both Deira and Bernicia. Yet since Ethelwald's kingdom did not extend beyond Deira, and Cedd's return to his own district was the occasion of his meeting Ethelwald, I think it more likely than not that Cedd was a Deiran. This argument is very far from being proof, but it is the only definite evidence.

The rule which Cedd gave to his new monastery was modelled on that of Lindisfarne where he had received his own monastic training. Direct evidence of the nature of this rule is sparse, but there is reasonable indirect evidence. Aidan came from Iona, the island site, off the west coast of Scotland, of one of the leading Irish monasteries of the period, founded in 565. Its founder was Columba, a member of the royal family of Tir Conaill (part of the modern county of Donegal). A life of Columba survives written, probably in the 690's, by the ninth abbot of Iona, Adomnan.³ This gives us some idea of the monastic tradition in which Aidan was reared. From the evidence of Bede it is clear that it was this tradition which formed the monastic life of Lindisfarne. The monastic rule of Lastingham was, therefore, of Irish origin, at one remove. Cedd, indeed, spoke Irish and Chad spent some time in Ireland.⁴ All monks at Iona lived under the authority of an abbot who was assisted by a council of senior monks. Important decisions appear to have been debated by this council. Monks were admitted by a process of probation followed by the taking of monastic vows. The

monastic routine included the singing of the divine office at fixed hours and manual or other work. In outline then, the frame-work of life was the usual one at most periods of monasticism. Iona was the head of a federation of monasteries. The abbot of Iona exercised authority over all these monasteries and appointed a superior, praepositus, to rule each one. It seems probably that an abbot chose his successor after having secured the consent of at least the senior monk. The monastery at Lindisfarne was, until 664, under the authority of the abbot of Iona. The man in charge was not an ordinary praepositus but rather a bishop. Aidan and his two successors, Finan and Colman, were each sent from Iona.⁵ They, in turn, appointed the superior who ruled the monastery while they carried out their duties as bishops. They also had other monasteries to which they appointed superiors, for example Melrose.

This system was reproduced by Cedd. When he founded Lastingham he had already been consecrated bishop. As bishop of the East Saxons he founded two monastic communities in Essex. He retained ultimate authority over Lastingham, but the day-to-day management was in the hands of a superior whom he appointed.⁶ Cedd's authority over Lastingham was of exactly the same type as that of Aidan over Lindisfarne. It seems probable, but cannot be proved, that Cedd as bishop was to some extent under the authority of the Irish bishops of the Northumbrians, Finan and Colman: it is at least certain that it was Finan who took the decision that Cedd's success in Essex was such as to justify his consecration as bishop.

Among the Columban monasteries Iona was the chief, being, as Bede tells us, "the island monastery in which he himself (Columba) rests in the body."⁷ The association of relics of a founder with ecclesiastical authority was normal in the early medieval church. It is clear, for example, in the case of Rome, the burial place of Peter and Paul, the apostle to the Jews and the apostle to the Gentiles. Saints were believed to retain their interest and their connection with their own churches after death. The sixth century historian, Gregory of Tours, has a delightful tale of how the assiduous prayers of the wife of Aetius, a great Gallo-Roman aristocrat and general, saved him from the awesome king of the Huns, Attila.⁸ She prayed night and day at the basilicas of the apostles in Rome. One night a poor man got drunk and took refuge in St. Peter's to sleep it off. While he was sleeping the door-keepers came and shut the doors leaving only the drunkard inside. When he awoke he saw two men saluting each other and asking after each other's health. The elder of the two said: "I cannot stand the tears of Aetius's wife any longer. She continually asks that I should bring her husband back safe from Gaul when it had been decreed otherwise by divine decision; but nevertheless I have obtained a great act of mercy on behalf

of his life." As it stands this is simply a good tale current in ecclesiastical circles a century after Aetius's great victory against the Huns. Stories, however, illustrate beliefs; and the presupposition behind this one is the continued close association of the church, relic and founder, an association which renders the power of the saint's patronage accessible to ordinary people. When Lindisfarne ceased to be part of the Columban federation of monasteries as a result of the synod of Whitby in 664, Colman took some of Aidan's relics back with him to Iona and left some in the church of Lindisfarne - a delicate compromise.⁹ Cedd died in that same year, of the plague. He had just returned on a visit to Lastingham, so that it was there that he died. At first he was buried outside the church; but later, between 664 and 731, a new church was built, of stone this time not wood, and Cedd's body was buried to the right of the altar. At the news of his death thirty of his East Saxon monks came to Lastingham wishing to live, to die and to be buried by the tomb of Cedd. In the event, all except one boy died of the plague.

Once it is clear that Cedd founded his monasteries and ruled them in the Lindisfarne, and therefore the Iona, tradition, it is possible to explain the way in which he set about founding Lastingham. When the decision was taken Lent was close at hand. Cedd decided to spend the whole of that Lent in prayer and fasting in the place where the monastery was to be built. This was, he declared, the custom of those who had taught him the monastic life, namely the Irish missionaries from Iona. By prayer and fasting the place might be purged and consecrated to God. Bede describes Lastingham as lying among steep and remote hills more appropriate as the hiding place of robbers and the lairs of wild beasts than the homes of men. We are too used to thinking of Lastingham as a weekender's delight to find it easy to understand Bede's description, or Cedd's need to purify the place from its "former filth of wicked deeds." The effort, however, is worth making.

Domesday Book shows that Lastingham was an insignificant settlement. In the main text it is counted as a separate manor, but there was no demesne. The place was occupied by one prosperous villanus who had one ploughteam. It was not given a separate value, and the so-called index, probably a document used by the commissioners and then copied into Domesday Book, gives Lastingham as an un-named part of the manor of Spaunton. Spaunton itself bears a name which is partly Scandinavian, and the village may not go back to the early Anglo-Saxon period. Even if we go back as far as the eleventh century, then, Lastingham already appears a very different place from what it is today: then, it was a farm on the edge of the moor. Four hundred years and more separate the Lastingham of Domesday Book from the Lastingham of Cedd.

In seventh century England some districts were already well settled. In such areas most modern villages are probably as old as the seventh century. Other districts, however, remained largely forest, marsh or moorland and contained only a few hamlets or villages. These areas were the last to be converted to Christianity, the most likely to be neglected by bishops, to go without a priest.¹⁰ Ordinary men preferred to keep to the settled country and to shun the forest and the moorland. We can gain some idea of what men thought about areas beyond the settled districts from the eighth century poem Beowulf. The poem presupposes a belief, which we know from place-name evidence to have been held in early England, in the existence of monsters or goblins. The poem terms them the descendants of Cain and they were believed to have an ancient hatred for the human race, to be enraged by the peace and happiness of men who lived in the well-settled districts. These monsters lived on the margins of such districts and in the moors or fens beyond those margins. Beowulf's great feat was to deliver the Danes from the attacks of two such monsters: Grendel, "notorious prowler of the borderland, ranger of the moors, the fen and the fastness", and his hardly less terrifying mother. In the seventh century Lavington was probably an island in the wilderness. From the following passage from Beowulf a good understanding may be gained of what men thought of such country:

These two (monsters) live
in a little-known country, wolf-slopes, wind-swept headlands,
perilous paths across the boggy moors, where a mountain stream
plunges under the mist-covered cliffs,
rushes through a fissure. It is not far from here,
if measured in miles, that the lake stands
shadowed by trees stiff with hoar-frost.
A wood, firmly-rooted, frowns over the water.¹¹

Such districts as these were for the monks of north-western Europe what the desert was for the monks of Egypt. They were areas remote from human society and mundane business, areas where a man was open and vulnerable to the spiritual powers which governed human life even in the settled districts, but governed it with less power and less openly. In the wilderness a man was stripped of the defences against the spiritual world created by the close-knit preoccupations of human society. It should be remembered that early Christians did not disbelieve in the existence of the pagan gods: for them they certainly existed and remained powerful, but they were demons. By conversion, by preaching, prayer and fasting, by the building of churches and the erection of high crosses the settled areas might be purged and be defended against the evil powers which had ruled men. But in the wilderness no man could feel safe.

The demons might come openly or in disguise. The Irishman, Columbanus, walking near his monastery in the Vosges towards the end of the sixth century, argued with himself the question whether it was better to be attacked by men or by wild beasts. He decided in favour of the wild beasts since in that case no sin was involved. As he was thinking it over he saw twelve wolves approaching. The wolves even seized hold of his clothes with their teeth, but could go no further in the face of his prayers, and they left him unharmed. He had only gone a little further when he heard the voices of many Alemanni, fierce Germanic pagans from Alsace just to the east, accustomed to plunder the northern districts of Burgundy. Columbanus was quite uncertain whether the wolves and the Alemanni were not, this time at least, only the outward disguises employed by demons. Columbanus's likely enemies in the Vosges were the same as Cedd's in the Yorkshire Moors: wild beasts and bandits, and, behind these, demons.¹²

It should be remembered that a seventh century Englishman like Cedd would have had no belief in the essential goodness of nature. The natural world contained many evils. Believing that evil came not from the Creator of the world but from free decisions of His creatures, and yet aware that not all evil derived from the evil decisions of men, he was obliged to believe in the existence of non-human, free and intelligent creatures who had much power over the material world. These were the devils or demons as well as their allies, the monsters. They might be repelled from the villages by the church but the wilderness remained very much their territory. A monastery founded in the wilderness was an outpost. The purpose of monastic life in such an outpost is given by the Epistle to the Ephesians, chap. 6, vv. 11-12: "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places".¹³

Cedd, therefore, considered it right to purify the site of his monastery from evil by prayer and fasting. The season of Lent was chosen for this task, thus making it more clearly an imitation of Christ's fast in the desert. For the reasons which I have given, moorland occupied in men's ideas a position similar to that of the desert in Egypt and Palestine. Cedd's actions, then, have a complex background of belief and imagination, a background utterly remote from that which we naturally associate with the site of Lastingham today.

The second problem is that of the date of the foundation. To establish this we must examine the political context in which the foundation took place. In 651 Oswine, the last king of the old royal

family of Deira, had been killed by the command of his enemy Oswiu, king of Bernicia. The next we hear of a king of the Deirans comes in the chapter which tells of the foundation of Lastingham. Ethelwald, there described as king among the Deirans, was the son of Oswald, Oswiu's elder brother and predecessor as king. He therefore belonged to the Bernician, not the Deiran, royal family. Yet even though the old feud between the two royal families had been completed by the death of Oswine and the compensation paid for it through the foundation of the monastery at Gilling West, the hostility between the two Northumbrian kingdoms still found expression. In 655 Ethelwald allied himself with the pagan king of the Mercians, Penda, in the latter's final campaign against Oswiu. Oswiu, however, won the decisive battle at the Winwaed and Ethelwald is not heard of again. The battle took place on the 15th of November 655. It can, I think, be shown with fair probability that Cedd's fast at Lastingham took place during the Lent of 655.¹⁴

To prove this we must first turn back to 653. In his chronological summary at the end of the Ecclesiastical History, Bede has the following entries for the years 653 and 655:

In the year 653 the Middle Angles, under the rule of Penda, were instructed in the mysteries of the faith.

In the year 655 Penda died and the Mercians were converted to Christianity.¹⁵

In the standard history of Anglo-Saxon England by Stenton you will find the battle of the Winwaed, at which Penda was defeated and killed, assigned to the year 654. This is in accordance with the theory of R. L. Poole that Bede ended one year and began the next in September, so that Bede would place a battle fought in what, for us, is November 654, in November 655. Poole's theory, however, was criticized by the German historian Wilhelm Levison, who maintained that Bede began the new year with Christmas day. I have little doubt that Levison was right, and that we may keep to Bede's date for the battle of the Winwaed, 655.¹⁶

In Book III, chapter 21, Bede says that the conversion of the Middle Angles (the people centred around Leicester) began two years before the death of Penda. This agrees with the chronological summary. The Middle Angles were ruled by Penda's son, Peada, who became a Christian on marrying Oswiu's daughter Alchflæd. Cedd was one of four priests sent from Bernicia to accompany the newly converted Peada and his Bernician bride back to the kingdom of the Middle Angles.

At the same time, according to Bede, Oswiu convinced the king of the East Saxons, Sigberct, of the truth of Christianity.¹⁷ Sigberct asked that missionaries be sent to preach to the East Saxons, and Oswiu summoned Cedd from the kingdom of the Middle Angles and sent him to Essex in accordance with Sigberct's request. When he had already had some success in his missionary work, Cedd returned to Lindisfarne to discuss things with Finan the Irish bishop of the Northumbrians. He was then consecrated bishop and returned to Essex. It was on a visit to Northumbria when already a bishop that Cedd was asked by Ethelwald to found a monastery in Deira. We know from Bede's account that the request was made shortly before Lent. We may also be fairly confident that Lastingham was founded before the battle of the Winwaed, 15 November 655, since it is very unlikely that Ethelwald remained king of the Deirans after the death and defeat of his ally, Penda. In order to fit all the events mentioned by Bede into a reasonable chronological sequence, it is necessary to place the foundation of Lastingham in the same year as the battle of the Winwaed. Cedd must have been sent as a missionary to the Middle Angles in 653, have been switched to the East Saxons also in 653, have visited Finan and been consecrated bishop in 654, and then have revisited Northumbria early in 655. Cedd cannot have founded Lastingham on his first return to Northumbria since he was not a bishop when he came back from Essex for the first time, and he was a bishop when he came back on the occasion on which Ethelwald asked him to found a monastery. It is scarcely possible that Cedd could have founded Lastingham during the Lent of 654 since that would imply that Cedd was sent to the Middle Angles, summoned back by Oswiu and sent to Essex, had some success in Essex, returned to visit Finan, was consecrated bishop, again went to Essex, and again returned to Northumbria, all in the space of at most a year.

The evidence of Bede points unmistakably to the spring of 655 as the date of the foundation of Lastingham. The way in which the site was consecrated was learnt by Cedd from his Irish teachers at Lindisfarne. The monastic life which he instituted came also from Lindisfarne, as Bede explicitly tells us. Both were derived from the monastery which sent Aidan and Finan to Northumbria, Iona.

Footnotes

1. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* Bk. iii chap. 23, (ed. C. Plummer, *Baedae Opera Historica*, vol. i, p. 175; ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, p. 286). I shall refer to this work as Bede, *H.E.*, followed by the book and chapter numbers and page references to the two editions cited above.

2. Bede, H.E., preface (ed. Pl. i, 7: C. & M., 4): iv, 3 (Pl. i, 210: C. & M., 342).
3. Adomnan's Life of Columba, ed. A. O. & M. O. Anderson (Edinburgh, n.d.).
4. Bede, H.E., iii, 25 (Pl. i, 183: C. & M., 298); Cedd interprets at the Synod of Whitby. Chad in Ireland: H.E., iv, 3 (Pl. i, 211: C. & M. 344).
5. Bede, H.E., iii, 3, 17, 25 (Pl. i, 131, 160, 182: C. & M. 218, 264, 296).
6. Bede, H.E., iii, 23, "statutis propositis" where propositus = praepositus (Pl. i, 176: C. & M. 288). The phrase is mis-translated in C. & M.
7. Bede, H.E., iii, 4 (Pl. i, 134: C. & M. 222).
8. Gregory of Tours, Historiae, ii, 7 (ed. B. Krusch & W. Levison, p. 49).
9. Bede, H.E., iii, 26 (Pl. i, 190: C. & M. 308).
10. Bede's Letter to Archbishop Ecgbert, 7 (ed. Plummer, i, p. 410).
11. The translation is that of K. Crossley-Holland. The passage is ll. 1357-1368. On place-name evidence for monsters, see D. Whitelock, The Audience of Beowulf (Oxford 1971), pp. 72-75.
12. The story is told by Columbanus' seventh century biographer, Jonas of Bobbio. There is a similar story in Felix's Life of Guthlac, a late seventh and early eighth century Fenland hermit, in which demons disguise themselves as Welshmen. Felix's Life of St. Guthlac is edited by B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956).
13. For the use of this passage for the struggle of the holy man against demons in the wilderness, see Adomnan's Life of Columba, iii, 8 (ed. Andersons, 480-82).
14. Death of Iswine: Bede, H.E., iii, 14 (Pl. i, 154-55: C. & M. 564). Battle of the Winwaed: H.E., iii, 24 (Pl. i, 177-78, C. & M. 288-90).
15. Bede, H.E. v, 24 (Pl. i, 354: C. & M. 564).
16. R. L. Poole, Studies in Chronology and History (Oxford, 1934), 38-55: W. Levison, England and the Continent in the Eighth Century (Oxford, 1946), 265-279. The argument by Dr. D. P. Kirby in his 'Bede and Northumbrian Chronology', Eng. Hist. Rev., lxxviii (1963), 514-27, that 656 is the true date of the battle of the Winwaed suffers, in my opinion, from unargued and improbable assumptions.
17. Bede, H.E., iii, 22 (Pl. i, 171-2: C. & M. 280-84).

Querns:

by R. H. Hayes

(A survey of hand-querns found in East Cleveland, the North Yorkshire Moors and the Vale of Pickering).

From the Old Norse 'Grotts-songr' - 'Grinding Song':

" The twain to the flour-bin,
Forthwith were led;
They bade the grey granite
A-grinding run...

They croon'd to the mill-stones'
Deep-murmuring hum,
They sang as they swang
The swift-spinning stone:

'Now leave we the flour-bin,
Let the stone stand.'
But the master still bade
The maids grind on...

Ne'er had come Grotti
From gray fell-side,
That boulder hard
From bosom of earth... "

This comes from a myth of a wealth-grinding mill; Grain, the oldest wealth of the earth may be its basis? - the excessive greed of the master worked ruin -

" With might and with main
the maidens ground,
In giant fury
Fierce and young.
The shaft-wood shiver'd,
Fell shattered the bin,
The mill-stone boulder
Burst all in twain. "

An old lady who recently visited the Ryedale Folk museum, looking at one of the Roman flat-rotary querns, said, "When I was in my teens I lived in the Shetland Isles and with my sister turned one of those to grind parched grain for making bannocks for tea. Once, when we were in a hurry to finish the task and turning the upper-stone furiously, my father said, 'Be careful, you will throw it off the spindle and break the stone!'" This was a modern parallel to a very old custom and it took place in the

early twentieth century, illustrating the long survival of the quern, or hand-mill as it was called in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. The revolving type had been in use for over 2,000 years and the Grain-Rubbers or Saddle types for possibly 10,000 years.

Grain-Rubbers consist of two stones, the larger, lower stone having its upper surface worked into a more or less saddle-shaped hollow, smooth and shallow, usually called 'Saddle quern' or 'Stone'. The name QUERN belongs to the same root as corn and grind. MILL comes from the Latin 'MOLA' or 'MOLINA'; Sanscrit 'MAR' - to grind. The rubber was a smaller stone, hard in texture and oval in shape, of such a size that it could be conveniently held in the hand. It was rubbed round and round or backwards and forwards.

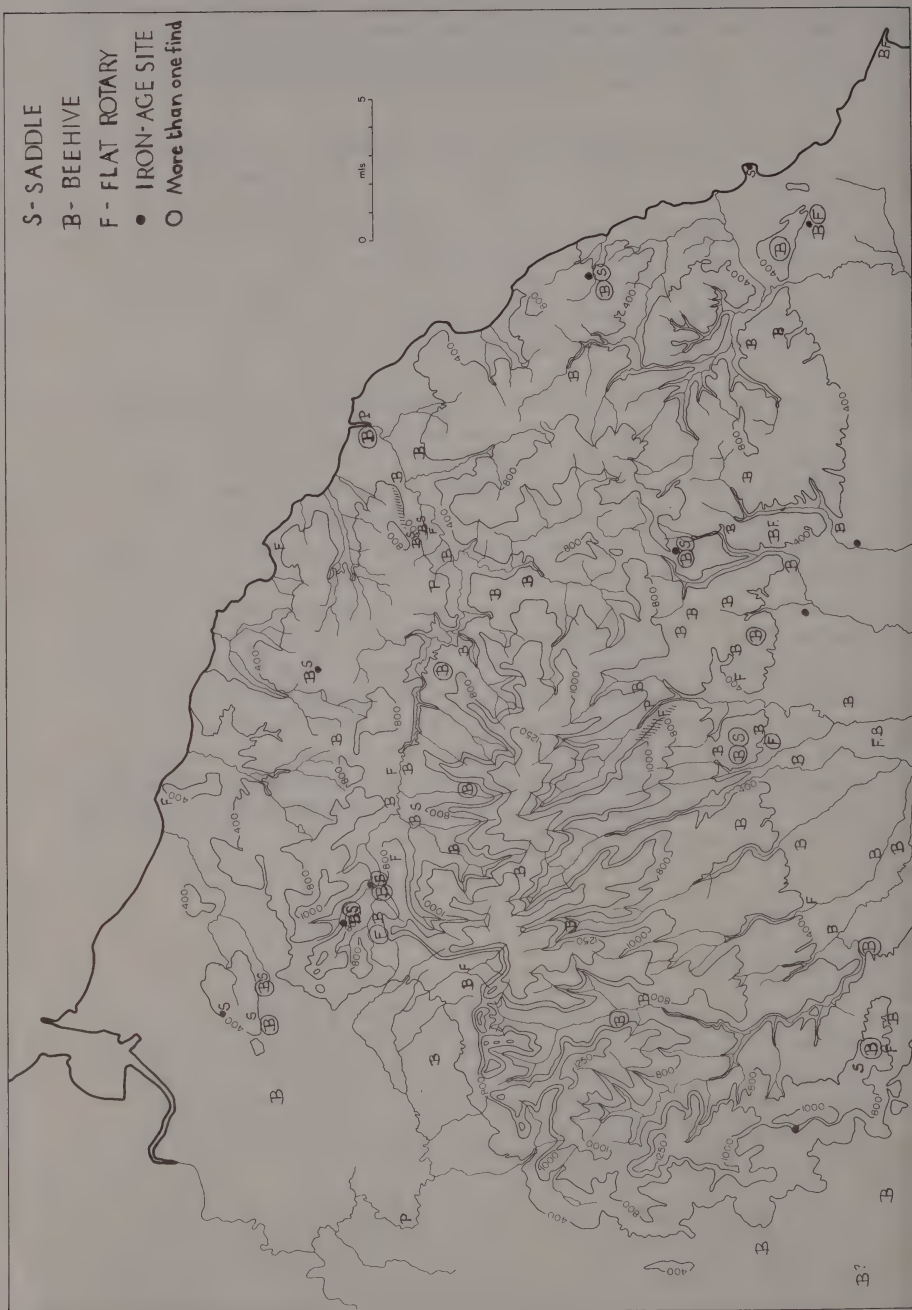
The first evidence of domesticated grain comes from Jarmo, Iraq, about 6750 B.C.,¹ though Professor G. W. Dimbleby thinks it could have been cultivated as early as 9000 B.C.² The grain used was EINKORN, a wild wheat, and EMMER - a hybrid between Einkorn and wild grass. By 3500 B.C. it was grown in Britain. Both these wheats decreased during the Bronze Age and there was a greater use of BARLEY, but by the Iron Age hexaploid bread-wheat was established in Britain and also SPELT, a wheat of primitive character which still has hulled grains. BARLEY developed rapidly from a weed, and, also from the same source, RYE was, by medieval times, a staple cereal. OATS began as a weed in other crops; it can tolerate a cool climate and appeared in Britain in the Iron Age and in Roman times, especially in the north where it appears to have been the main cereal.³ Large amounts of charred grain are found on ancient sites, but early man did not eat pop-corn; the grain was parched or roasted before use, making it easier to keep and better to grind.

Grain Rubbers

These were used from very early times, and are still in use today in Africa and South America to grind wild seeds; mortars were also used and a stone found recently on Battersby Moor may be one of these.⁴ In Britain the saddle-type grain-rubber was in use by neolithic times (at Ehenside Tarn in the Lake District by 3000 B.C.), and examples also found in megalithic tombs,⁵ cf. Fig. 2.1 and 2.2).

The earliest evidence we have from Ryedale is part of a heavy, highly-polished stone from Lingmoor, on the limestone hills, two miles south east of Hutton-le-Hole. It has a cuplike hollow, cut in it after it was disused for grinding. This was very near a group of similar cup-marked stones, found associated with a stone axe-hammer and mid-

Fig 1. Distribution Map of Quern Finds in North East Yorkshire.



Bronze Age cremations, possibly about 1400 B.C. in date, and reused as a votive offering for burials.

Saddle-stones and rubbers were found in the floors and ditches of late Iron Age huts at Percy Rigg near Kildale,⁶ and in enclosure 'B' on Levisham Moor,⁷ and at Roxby Low Moor.⁸ They survived well into Roman times; a massive broken example in the Ryedale Folk Museum was found in a quarry pit under a third-fourth century A.D. aisled farmhouse near Spaunton;⁹ another was used as part of the flooring of a late fourth century A.D. hut in Newbiggin Hall in Lower Eskdale. They have been found in Saxon huts and could well have survived even much longer in the highlands.

ROTARY QUERNS

By the late Iron Age (200-100 B.C.) a great advance had been made, with the invention of the rotary quern, consisting of a conical or bun-shaped upper stone, usually about 13"-15" in diameter (35-40cms); 6"-9" high, with a 3"-4" diameter hopper, tapering to a 1½"-1" feed pipe, acting as a funnel for the grain to fall onto the lower stone. The upper stone had a convex grinding surface, the outside often pecked or pick-marked. It was rotated by two tapering or horizontal handles of wood, 3"-4" in length and about 1"-2" thick. The lower stone, often slightly wider, had a smooth concave grinding surface with a spindle hole, not more than 2" deep. The spindle was a short vertical rod less than 1 cm. thick, of wood, bone, or iron, which passed right up through the upper stone to a 'rynd', or bridge, made of wood, which was jammed into the centre of the hopper, having a little socket on its lower face which rested on top of the spindle; it thus carried part of the weight of the upper stone, but had to be so adjusted that the outer edge of this stone rested lightly on the lower stone. The rynd must not block the aperture of the feed pipe and hopper, otherwise the grain would not slide down to the lower grinding surface. The lower stone was often set at an angle to enable the flour to slide out of one side easily. Some lower stones are very deep and bucket-shaped (fig. 2.8), others rounded (fig. 2.9); the former were set in the hut floor, the latter usually on a stand or wooden table.¹⁰

Origins

E. C. Curwen said in 1937-1941:¹¹ "The origin of the rotary mill or hand-quern is still wrapped in obscurity." He thought they were derived from the donkey mills, used in Greece and Rome in the first century A.D., but probably much earlier in Greece. They were large revolving mills turned by a lever-like capstan (akin to the later horse-mills). Examples are still to be seen in Pompeii.

This was disputed by Professor Gordon Childe in 1943,¹² who says: "The issue is more complicated than Curwen realised. In Northern Europe no sort of rotary quern was available until the third century A.D.; so a Nordic origin is unlikely. In central and Western Europe in La Tene times and in late Iron Age (third century B.C. to the first century A.D.) three distinct types were in use: beehive-shaped, flat-disc, and querns with vertical handle holes. Not all British querns stem from a single type."¹³ One of the sites where the rotary type was first used was Glastonbury lake village.¹⁴ Child says, "For grinding the grain, the Glastonbury housewives were no longer content to push the old saddle-quern; of the 56 querns recovered, 38 belong to the new rotary type, which embodied one early mechanical application of the wheel idea to the reduction of human labour."

Another site where they were used in quantities was HUNSBURY - an Iron Age fort or enclosure in Northamptonshire, destroyed in the nineteenth century. It produced no less than 48 upper stones and 55 lower stones, made of Derbyshire gritstone.¹⁵ Hunsbury querns had four main features:-

- (i) their conical or beehive shape;
- (ii) very narrow feed pipe from hopper;
- (iii) the angle of the grinding surface is flat or very slightly inclined, so that grain would not run easily;
- (iv) the handle-holes penetrate right into the hopper or feed pipe.

This latter feature is found in a few examples from our district.¹⁶ Parts of iron spindles, sleeves or rynds, were found in the stones. (cf. Fig. 2.3; 2.4).

Hunsbury querns are discussed by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in his Stanwick Report, 1954.¹⁷ He states:

"The matter is greatly complicated by the fact that these querns extended well into the Roman period, but the main result is clear - an overwhelming majority of them, whether pre-Roman or Roman in date, occurs on or south of the Jurassic Zone, with a spillover towards the Trent basin. Their scarcity in Derbyshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire is outstanding. Of the principal Midland class of pre-Roman origin - the Hunsbury type - the great area of Yorkshire has produced something like 13 examples, all without context. Lancashire and Derbyshire, perhaps one each."

He was quoting from a very inadequate report, but despite this he concluded that the cultivation of grain before the Roman period was practically nil; there were no storage pits at Stanwick, so everyone north of the Humber must have lived on boiled meat with a few roots or berries!

Research and the excavations of various individuals and groups in north-east Yorkshire in the 20 years since 1954 have thrown a very different light on the state of cultivation in the district.¹⁸ Querns of the beehive or bun-shaped types have been found associated with late Iron Age pottery at the following sites:-

PERCY RIGG, KILDALE	Lower stone from hut 'E' - the only example from 5 huts which produced 7 rubbers or saddle-querns. ¹⁹
ROXBY LOW MOOR	Upper stone from Hut 1; four other huts unexcavated and large embanked site nearby probably of the same period. ²⁰ (Fig. 2.5).
LEVISHAM MOOR	Upper and lower stones and fragments, also saddle-quern fragments, all with black gritty native ware. ²¹
PALE END, KILDALE	Under third century Romano-British floor over Iron Age hearth: upper stones, rubber and several flat rotary quern pieces in upper paving. ²²
SPAUNTON	In quarry pit under floors of Romano-British aisled house (before third century A.D.), with saddle stone. ²³

There is no reason why the beehive type should not have survived throughout the Roman era, had not the Romans adopted a more portable thinner flat type which we will call the FLAT ROTARY TYPE.

Curwen²⁴ thought the Roman legionaries were responsible for their distribution in northern Britain, but Childe²⁵ points out that similar stones have been found in Gallic forts, occupied before Agricola's advance into Scotland before 80 A.D. It is only with the aid of iron tools and bolts that such millstones could be made and pivoted together. Pick and chisel marks are visible on several, also grooves or furrows to enable fine or coarse grinding. The grinding surface was marked out into ten equal 'harps' or sectors, divided by lines drawn at a tangent to the eye of the stone. This basic method of division, to be seen on Roman millstones, was to remain in use until the twentieth century (Fig. 2.10).

By the third century A.D. the flat rotary was the dominant type. It was already fitted on a vertical shaft with a horizontal water wheel below; the so-called Greek or Norse watermill. In the native huts and the villages that grew up around the forts, the handmill remained for generations the sole method of grinding.

Several were found where they had been abandoned when the aisled Romano-British farmstead near Spaunton fell to ruins. They were associated with the third-fourth century Romano-British pottery - the lower stones set in a floor of limestone rubble. One still had its iron spindle intact and the upper stone (15" diameter) nearby.²⁶ Part of another was found in a storage pit with pottery made in the kiln at Cockerdale Wood below Cold Cam.²⁷ At Norton/Malton Roman vicus, several were found during excavations in 1946-52. Discarded and broken ones were re-used for hearths or set in late fourth-century paving. One was used to raise the floor of a Norton third-century pottery kiln and another did duty as the cover of a latrine, raised or lowered by a rope through the hopper. Many lava querns were imported from the Rhineland (see below). This volcanic rock was a soft basalt, first used in the Neolithic era; by 1200 B.C. to Middle Hallstatt (800-600 B.C.) regular quarrying began and continued to modern times. What marvels of salesmanship made possible the export of these querns to all parts of Europe as well as Britain! In the Ryedale Folk Museum we have parts of Roman, medieval and late nineteenth century querns of this material.

The flat-quern varied from 13" to over 20" in diameter, but only 2" to 4" in thickness. The hopper was wide, 4" to 5" with a projecting rim. Handles were usually vertical; in some instances fitting into a groove on the top of the upper stone. Some examples had a metal band round then which held the handle.²⁸ The type had a long survival. It was predominant in medieval times, though authentic Anglo-Saxon types are as rare in Ryedale as Romano-British are plentiful. By Domesday (1086) there were at least 5,600 watermills in use. The lords of the manors held rights of soc, soke and multure - the power of holding courts, summoning tenants, imposing fines. Multure was a stipulated quantity of meal given to the miller or proprietor of the mill for grinding corn. All farmers and tenants had to pay even if they used handmills; an arrogant lord could prohibit the use of querns and compel the tenants to use his mill. The Abbot of St. Albans paved the courtyard of the abbey with the querns of his tenants after they had all been broken up - hence the peasants' revolt later took revenge on him. There is no similar record of the Abbot of St. Mary's, York, though one man argued with me that this was the cause of all the broken querns we found, regardless of the fact that most are Iron Age or Romano-British.

Pot Querns

A fifth type appears about 1000-1500 A.D. This is called the 'Pot Quern'; examples come from medieval towns and monastic sites. A complete example was found in 1921, between the south transept and the sacristy of Rievaulx Abbey. It was published in 1965 by C. G.

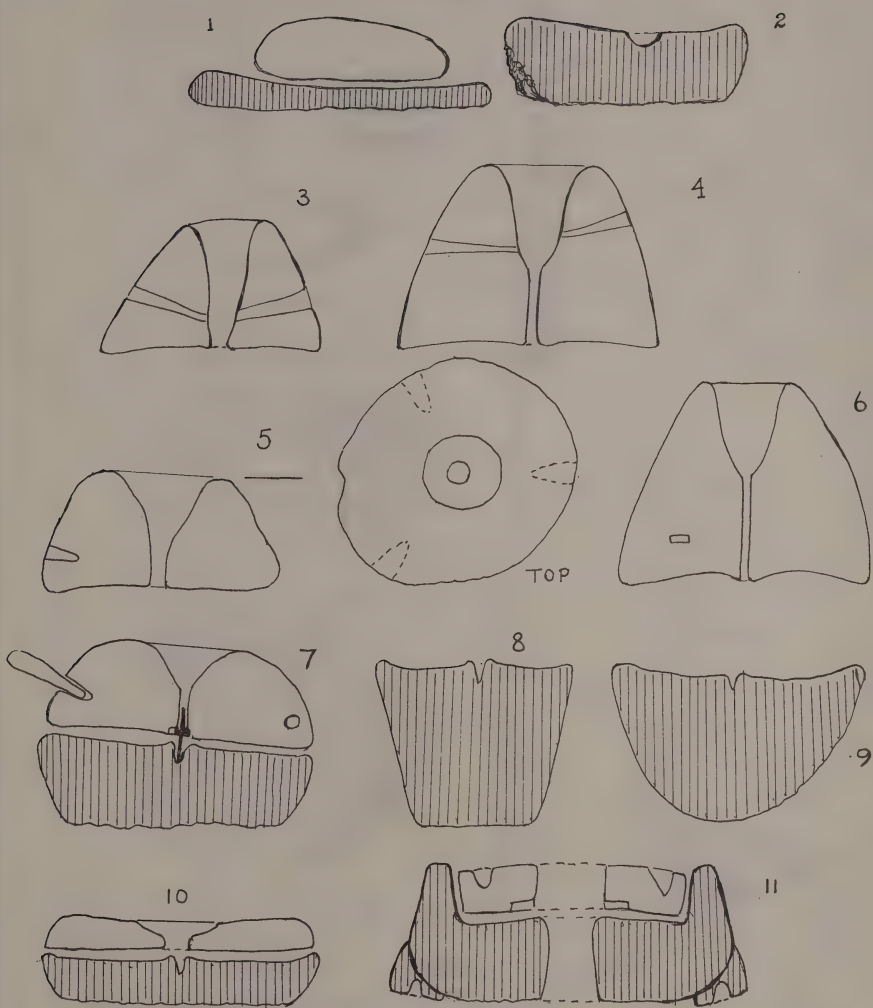
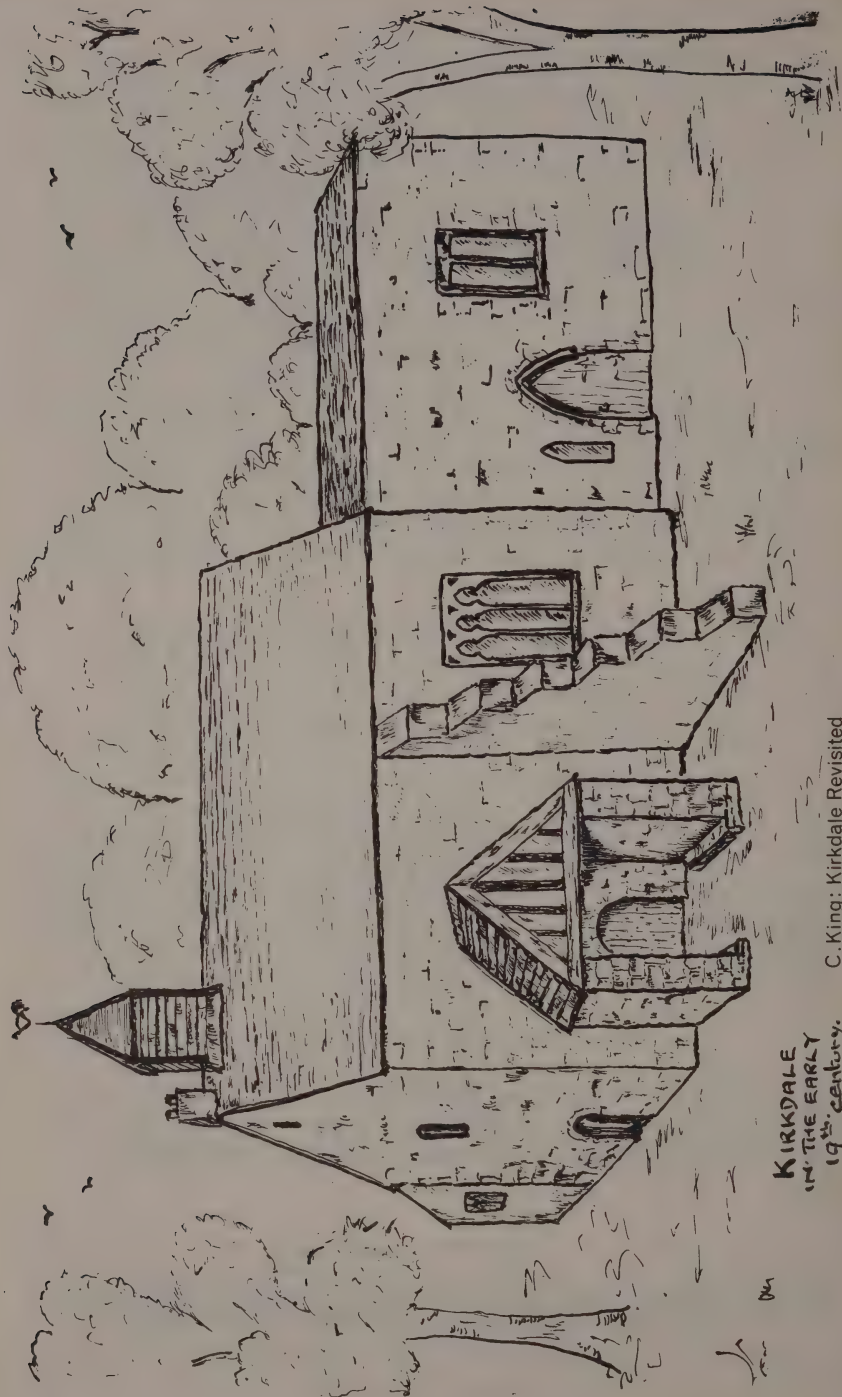


Fig2 R.H.Hayes: Querns



We very much regret that, owing to printing difficulties and consequent confusion between Editor and Printer, a number of illustrations have been omitted from this issue. Four essential drawings, relating to the articles indicated, are printed on this addendum. It is hoped to include some of Mr. Hayes' photographs of querns in the next Ryedale Historian.



KIRKDALE
IN THE EARLY
19th CENTURY.

C. King: Kirkdale Revisited

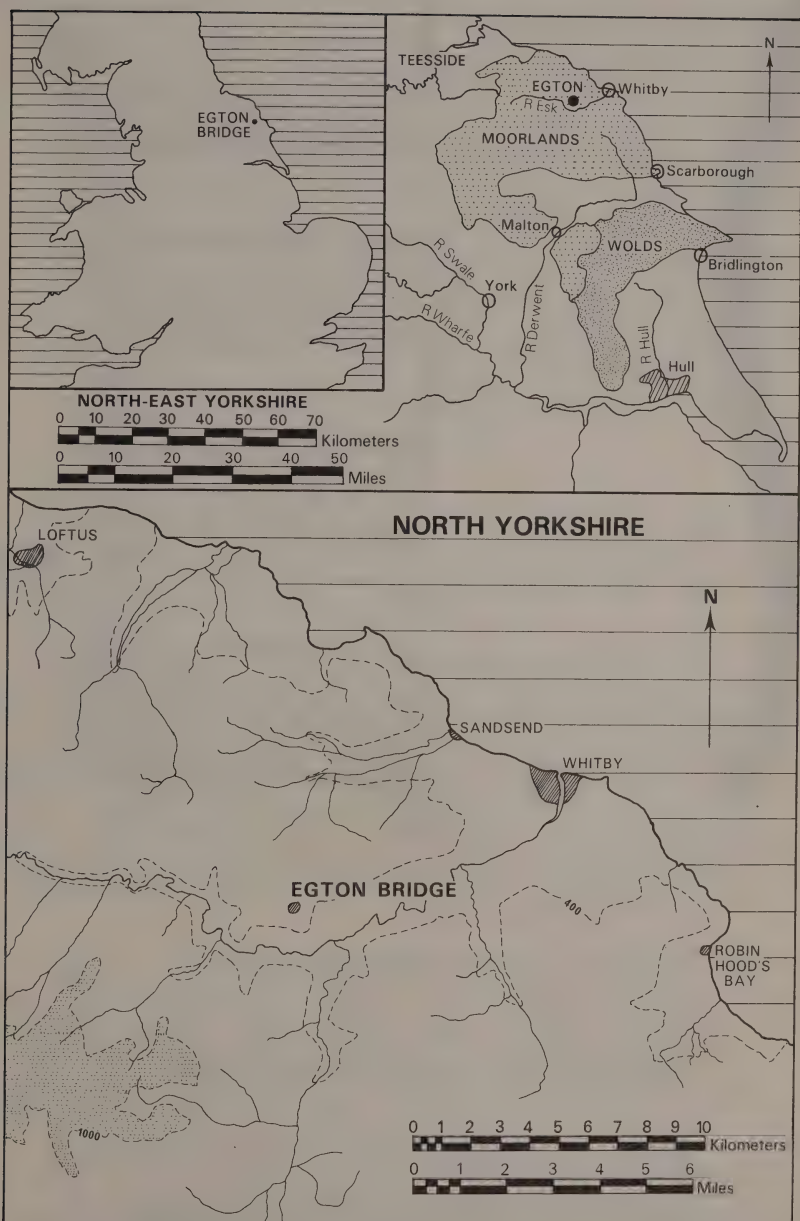
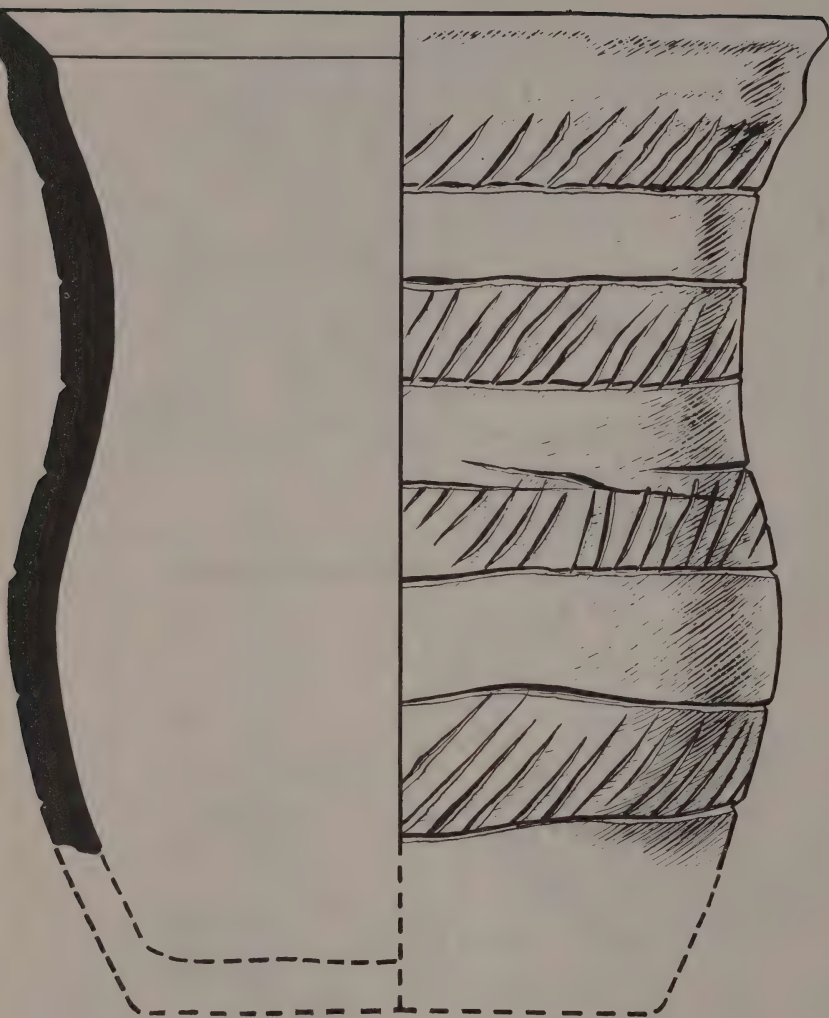


Fig. 1. The location of Egton Bridge, North Yorkshire.



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Fig. 2. European Bell Beaker from Egton Bridge, North Yorkshire.

Dunning in the Antiquaries Journal,²⁹ (Fig. 2.11). He gives the following description of it:

"Type - Pot Quern of Mayen Lava. Upper stone recessed inside the lower stone which was slightly convex, while the upper stone was concave and $11\frac{3}{4}$ " diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ " thick; Central hole $3\frac{1}{2}$ " across; on the under surface are two slots for an iron cross-piece, or rynd, which engaged a spindle fitted in the hole of the lower stone, by which means the space between the two stones could be regulated. In the upper surface are two conical holes or sockets near the edge. The lower end of a stick rested in one of the holes, its upper end being loose in a hole in the wooden frame. The stick pushed by the hand, this rotated the stones. The lower stone was 15" in diameter and 7" high; profile bulges outwards and retracts to flat but uneven base. Two lugs underneath for pegs to secure the quern to the table or bench. A hole in the lower stone had an outer spout (broken off)."

Flemish querns were imported to England in the late Saxon period to the sixteenth century, or later. Over 40 are known, but very few published. Pot querns, similar to the one described, have been found on 15 sites, dated thirteenth-fourteenth century.

A broken example in the Ryedale Folk Museum comes from near the late medieval pottery kiln at Stearsby, though the sherds found with it are probably fourteenth-fifteenth century. Other examples (of sandstone) were found at Egton on the site of the old hall (figured by Young, History of Whitby II, p. 763, fig. No. 6) of the same dimensions as that from Rievaulx. Another worn one was found in Eskdaleside about 1816. A lower stone of a spouted pot quern in Whitby Museum had the upper stone from a beehive type revolving in it - an unlikely combination! There is a broken one in Crathorne Church, 15" diameter, of millstone grit.

A fragment of a pot quern was found by Fred Hall when he was farming Dyke House, Hartoft, actually in the lower part of Rosedale. Several other fragments of rotary types were found there. It is significant that on the west side of Rosedale, on Spaunton Moor from Ainhowe to the quarries above the sixteenth-century glass and iron workings opposite Hartoft End, many roughed-out circular stones were noted after moor fires in the 1947-50 period (Plate 4). An outcrop of hard jurassic sandstone - moor grit of the upper estuarine strata - occurs here. This was used for querns and grindstones for a long period of time. One of the old trackways to Lastingham from this moor crosses Grindstone Wath. Unfinished querns were found during the excavations of the late

sixteenth-century glassworks in 1968-71.³⁰ One larger stone, 24" in diameter and 5" thick, with a 2" to 3" hole in the centre was used in the base of a stone platform (remains of a fritting oven?). This is large for a quern; it may have been intended for a horsemill; but in any case it was unfinished and very rough.³¹

Another source of material was the oolitic limestone - Hambleton oolite of the Corallian series. A pair of flat rotary querns of this limestone were ploughed up by George Champion of Westfield Grange, Cropton, in 1952. The site was just above Mill Wood, opposite Appleton Mill, and the field had only 4" of soil above the rock. There were quarries on the slope below; this could be the Holtwaitebank Wood, where in 1338, Thomas Wake, Lord of Cropton, held the right to take millstones for himself and his tenants. This limestone is hard and brittle and difficult to work, but querns were made from it: examples at Gillamoor and elsewhere. Another place of possible manufacture was the Hambleton oolite escarpment, west from Cold Cam to Roulston Scar, where Romano-British sites have been found.

The stone most favoured for querns and later millstones was the sandstone of the Upper Carboniferous series; aptly named Millstone Grit (cf. Fig. 2.6). This is not found in our district; the nearest source is in the foothills of the Pennines, the Ripon district and the West Riding. It was extensively worked and many of the querns described are of this stone. One of the more important quarries is at Wharnccliffe Crag, between Penistone and Sheffield. Mr. Charles Phillips of the Ordnance Survey told me in 1956 that a man called Butcher of Sheffield had for several years made remarkable finds at Wharnccliffe of quern manufacture on a large scale with hundreds of rough-outs and discarded stones lying around. The industry went on from the Iron Age throughout the Roman period at least; possibly much later. No doubt there were a considerable trade in these querns between the quarries and the stoneless East Riding, the York area and north-east Yorkshire, as the stone was superior to the Jurassic sandstones.

The flat rotary type continued in use throughout the Middle ages, despite the confiscations by the lords of the manors. It survived to the early twentieth century in the Northern Isles; Boswell describes it in his Tour of the Hebrides in 1774 (1936 reprint, p. 219).

"Talisker, Skye, September 1773. We stopped at a little hut where we saw an old woman grinding with the quern, the ancient Highland implement, which it is said was introduced by the Romans. It consists of two circular whinstones roughened by having holes made in them by the pickaxe. These stones are placed one above the other. In the centre

of the upper one is an opening in which a frame of wood serves as the hopper; it is fixed, and into it the grain is thrown. There are four holes in the upper stone by way of conformity, but only one is used - that into which a stick is fixed by which the stone is turned about. The upper end of the stick is supported by being placed in a little semi-circular opening formed of straw-rope, fixed to the wattling of the roof." (This sounds as though the stick was not the handle but the spindle?)... "The woman turned about the stick and the upper stone had a pin of wood near the middle, fixed in the lower one, on which pin it moved as on an axis. The upper stone is convex, the under one concave, by which the meal falls down the sides, from the centre. I cannot draw it," (there is a very indistinct drawing in the book)... "but young Coll has promised to send me one from Mull, as he has set up a mill on his estate, and is abolishing the quern, which is a poor and tedious implement. Generally two women work it - they can grind a boll (four bushells) a day, as they told me."

SUMMARY

A glance at the distribution map (Fig. 1) shows two main areas of Iron Age and Romano-British settlements. One is the southern dip-slope of the limestone hills, from Helmsley to Scarborough, along the line of the present main road A170. This belt of lighter soil and the band of alluvium of the north side of the Vale of Pickering was favoured by agriculturalists from very early times. Our modern villages and towns - the so-called Saxon settlements, inherit the clearings of the first settlers. These could have begun as far back as the Neolithic or Bronze Ages, and by the Iron Age were established villages. Twenty-one years of excavation at Wharram Percy in East Yorkshire have shown a similar pattern.

The other area is Upper and Lower Eskdale from the Kildale gap to Whitby. This is rather surprising to the conventionalists who held that the dales and moor edges were uninhabited between the Bronze Age and the monastic settlements of the twelfth century A.D. - apart from a small group mentioned around Danby in Domesday. Even as recently as 1958 Professor Stuart Piggott said of North Yorkshire (in Roman & Native in N. Britain Ed. I. A. Richmond, p. 14):

"Rotary querns are few, and need none of them be pre-Roman, while the use of the saddle-querns simply show surviving Bronze Age traditions - in irregular plots of hoe-cultivation type - recorded by Elgee in the North Yorkshire Moors."

Professor I. A. Richmond, in the same book (p. 126), referring to the 4th century Roman signal stations, says:

"the land behind them, particularly in Yorkshire, was desolate moor, devoid of inhabitants."

We now realise, thanks to the work of the Teesside group, led by Dr. D. A. Spratt, that within 5 miles of Goldsborough and Huntcliffe signal-ports, there were groups of Iron Age huts, akin to villages; and finds of querns, even if they cannot be closely dated, do testify to arable farming and the growth of cereal crops, if only on a small scale. Another area of cultivation was on Levisham Moor and around Lockton, where the earlier fields were gradually abandoned for the present villages. Cleveland has not yet provided enough evidence of querns, though pollen analysis at Seamer Carr, near Stokesley, proved that three varieties of grain were cultivated in the vicinity in the Iron Age.

Not many saddle-querns are recorded in this survey. The reason is that these stones are easily overlooked; because of their shape they were re-used for hearths or in paving, even in huts of the Iron Age. The same applies to a lesser extent with the flat rotary type. The beehive stones, heavier and more noticeable, were more likely to be preserved by their finders, or placed on rockeries.

The survey shows three main sources of material:

1. Millstone Grit from the West or North-west. This would involve transport problems, but river or waterways were most likely used.
2. Jurassic sandstone or moor-grit from the Rosedale West area of Spaunton Moor (Plate 4) also Aislaby sandstone (lower Eskdale).
3. Limestone of the Hambleton series, or Corallian - less suitable because of its hard and brittle nature.

REFERENCES

1. Encyclopaedia of Dates and Events, p. 2.
2. G. W. Dimbleby, Plants and Archaeology 1967, p. 78.
3. Haver = oat-field; common field name in Ryedale and Cleveland.
4. 2 ft. diameter basin cut 10" deep in natural rock, found by S. White.
For mortars, see Antiquaries' Journal No. 42 Vol. XI, 1937.
5. Ehenside Tarn - British Museum; Later Prehistoric Antiquities 1953, p. 6.

6. See lists below, and Yorkshire Archaeological Journal Vol. 44, 1972, pp. 23-31, fig. 9.
7. Levisham Moor Excavations, Scarborough and District Archaeological Society, rept. - forthcoming.
8. Roxby Low Moor - Iron Age huts - see lists.
9. Ryedale Historian No. 3, 1967, pp. 12-25. (A. H. Whitaker).
10. Wooden stands or tables used in Orkney-Shetland, nineteenth-twentieth century.
11. Newbiggin Hall Romano-British hut site. Yorkshire Archaeological Journal pt. 166, Vol. XLII, 1968, pp. 120-125.
12. 'Rotary Querns on the Continent', V. G. Childe, Antiquity, Vol. XVII, No. 65, March 1943.
13. North East Yorkshire types very similar to Irish examples. Information from Seamas Caulfield, Belfast University.
14. Glastonbury Lake Village. A. Bulleid & G. Gray, 2 Vols., 1967.
15. Wharnccliffe, nr. Sheffield. "Quern-cliffe", important quern quarry.
16. Hunsbury type - handle-holes into hopper - at Malton and Upsall.
17. The Stanwick Fortifications, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, 1954.
18. We are indebted to Dr. D. A. Spratt, R. S. Close, D. Brown and members of the Tees-side and Scarborough Archaeological Societies for much recent work on Iron Age and Romano-British sites.
19. Percy Rigg, Kildale, Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, Vol. 44, 1972, p. 23. R. S. Close.
20. Excavations by above group (note 18) 1972.
21. See note 7.
22. Pale End, Kildale, Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, pt. 164, Vol. XLI, 1966.
23. As note 9.
24. C. E. Curwen, Antiquity, 1937, pp. 133-51; idem, 1941, Vol. XV, No. 57.
25. As note 12.
26. See note 9., p. 15, plate 1.
27. History of Helmsley, 1963, Appendix A. pp. 307-413, fig. 17b.
28. Antiquity, Vol. XV, No. 57, 1941. E. C. Curwen.
29. Pot Quern from Rievaulx. C. G. Dunning. Antiquaries' Journal 1965, Vol. XLV.
30. Rosedale and Hutton. Post-Medieval Archaeology, Vol. 6, 1972. D. W. Crossley and F. A. Aberg, fig. 57, no. 23, p. 122.
31. Kept by Mr. and Mrs. Snaith at Scugdale near the site.

LIST OF QUERN FINDS

Locality	Grid Ref.	Type	Diameter	Height	Hopper	Handle Holes	Remarks
Ainthorpe (Danby) Congrave Fm.	NZ 718879	BH	13"	5"	5" (hole 1½" funnel- shaped)	2 (worn)	Local sandstone, worn picked surface
Amotherby, Glebe Field	SE 752735	? Upper?	?	?	?	?	Querns and R-B pottery dug up 1857. Cf. Malton Messenger 23/1/1858: Gentleman's Magazine, 1, 83: Roman Malton & District Report No. 5, 1933, p. 61.
Appleton Common (see Spaunton)		(2-3 found)	12"	over 7½"	Top broken	2	Found in ploughing out common, 1914-18 war.
Barugh (Gt.) (in R. Rye)	SE 74/79	Upper BH	13"	8" conical	5"	2	Local sandstone, picked. Kept in garden by J. Wood, Normanby.
Beadlam (Roman villa)	SE 634842	FR	15½"	(Sliced and broken)			Gritstone, found during 1969-72 excavation. No. 550 in Ryedale Folk Museum.
Bilsdale, Stingamires	1) SE 563957 2)	BH BH	12" 10"	6" 7½"	4" 4½"	1 1	Moor grit; burnt upper. Millstone grit, very worn and misshaped.
(in garden)	3)	base	14"	8"	-	-	Local sandstone, worn, convex top (Cf. Falcon Farm, Danby).
Bilsdale, Low Crosset	SE 754925	Upper BH	13"	5" bun-shaped	5"	2 1½" dia. 3" deep	Local stone? Bun-shaped. Iron slag nearby.
Blansby Park, Pickering	1) SE 818881 2) SE 812872 3) SE 812875	? BH	? 13"? 13"?	? ? 7"	? ? pipe	? ? 1? 1" dia.	Fragment found by RHH & J. G. Rutter, nr. linear dike & cairns 1960. Half upper BH stone. Harrison collection. Cut down as walling stone. Civisale Lane, nr. R-B sherds.
Bransdale, Cockan	SE 615987	BH Upper	13"	8" conical	5"	2?	Garden of keeper's house 1958. Probably ploughed up by T. Bumby c.1900. Local stone.
Brawby	SE 738780	?	?	?	?	?	Roman millstone, in Rooke Collection, Malton Museum. Another similar reported, probably at Castle Howard.
Breckonbrough (Low) north of Pickering	SE 800905	BH Upper	?	?	?	?	Ploughed up SW of house in 1940s. Taken to Norton (E.R.) by bee-keeper. Seen by JHI.
Boulby	NZ 750195	Saddle- stone					Found in outer kerb of barrow with Mid Bronze Age urn. Wm. Homsby, Y.A.J.xxv, 1918, 97: Elgee, Early Man... 93.
Castleton, Birkfield Quarry	1) NZ 679074 2)	BH Upper BH Upper	13"	6½"	4"	1 2½" dia.	Found in bank of old intake nr. Whitby milestone. Kept by G.N. Duck. Found by C. E. Waite 1962.

Locality	Grid Ref.	Type	Diameter	Height	Hopper	Handle Holes	Remarks
Castleton, Gallow Howe	NZ 681074	Saddle-stone					Atkinson, Gentleman's Magazine 1863: Elgee, Early Man... 140, fig. 46: Proceedings of Prehistoric Society 1938, p. 35.
Castleton, Conn House	NZ 682085	BH Upper?					Built into wall nr. farm buildings by Jos. Foord (Reminiscences...) p. 132. No details.
Castleton, Ellerstang (in garden)	?	2 BH Uppers					J. Foord (op.cit.) prob. from Westerdale, q.v.
Cold Cam, Cockerdale Wood	SE 534854?	FR	14-15"	3"			Pieces of flat rotary quern in storage pit, Celtic field system. Hist. of Helmsley 1963, pp. 407-13; fig. 17b.
Cold Kirby	1) SE 533854?	BH Lower? Saddlestone (2 ft. long, hollow 12" by 10")	14-15"				Middlesbrough Museum, found by J. Saunders 1900-10, ditto.
	2)						
Coulton, nr. Hovingham	SE 63/72	BH Upper	14"	8"	5"	2	Sandstone. Found in farm road at Coldharbour. In R. S. Close collection.
Cropton, Millwood Top	SE 749877	FR	14-15"	3½"	3-4" rim	none	Upper and lower stones, corallian limestone; one side smoothed with use. Ploughed up by G. Champion 1952, kept by him at Westfield Grange.
Cropton, Hen Flats, nr. Whitethorn	?						Found by Whitehead of Pickering, 1929.
	(Cf. Hinderwell's Scarborough, 1832, p. 12: a square enclosure south of Cropton, where Simpson found stones with holes in centre: thought to be part of a column).						
Crathorne Church	NZ 444076?	Pot Quern	14" approx				Part of Lower stone, ledged.
Dalby, Stoneclose Rigg	SE 865888	BH Upper	?	?	?	?	Found by T. Hoggard, Forestry worker, 300 yds. NE of Rigg Ho. Fm. Coin of Severus (AD 202-10), silver, found nearby, also worn bronze coin and jet fragment (bead?)
Danby Dale, Falcon Farm	NZ 697039	BH Upper	13"	conical 7½-8"	4"	2 (one broken)	An unusually deep base stone (cf. Bilsdale, Stingamires no. 3) prob. sunk in ground.
		Lower	11"	7-8" (8" dia. at base)			(Cf. G. Jobay, 'Querns from Rectilinear settlements', Arch. Aeliana, 4th series, 1960, pp. 1-39, fig. 6).
Danby Dale, Botton Hall	NZ 699040	BH Upper?	?	?	?	?	Inf. from F. Weatherill, Danby.
Danby Dale, Stangend	NZ 704085	FR? Lower	15"	3½"	(Spindle hole 1½-1¼")		Local sandstone. Half stone found in wall E of cruck house. Spindle hole unusually goes right thro'. In Ryedale Folk Museum.
Danby Dale, Ainthorpe: see under Ainthorpe.							
Edstone, Gr., South View Farm	SE 858841	BH Upper Lower	13" (5½-3½" spindle hole)	6"	5-1") 3)	Found 18" down, 4 ft. apart. Upper stone worn and broken grinding surface. 1957. In Ryedale Folk Museum, given by Milton Leadley. Pub. Yorks. Gazette 1958.

Locality	Grid Ref.	Type	Diameter	Height	Hopper	Handle Holes	Remarks
Egton, site of Old Hall	NZ 806064	Pot quern: Upper Lower	11½" 15"	? 5" (spouted)	?)	?)	Medieval. Lugged lower stone and upper. See G. Young, <i>Hist. of Whitby</i> , II, p. 763, fig. 6.
Egton, Manor House		BH?					Prob. from Lease Rigg? A. Smith, 1949.
Egton	1) NZ 836073	Saddle (15" by 10" tapering 3-4")					Re-used as paving stone in
Newbiggin	2)	BH 12-13"	5" (broken?)				R-B hut. Excavated 1964
Hall, (2 miles from Egton)	3)	FR (6 pcs) 17"	4" (ribbed, picked)				by Whitby group. Y.A.J.
	4)	fragment 20-24"	4"				pt. 166, 1968, pp. 120-125.
	5)	fragment of Mayen lava.					
Egton, Topstone Folly, 2)	1) NZ 832078	Saddle 24" by 16" by 12"					
2 miles NE of Egton	3)	Saddle 16" by 16" by 4" thick					
	4)	Saddle 15" by 12" by 5" - tapered part of rubber stone					
		BH 13"	7"	5-¾"	2		Handle holes 3½" long, one worn down by use. Aislaby stone from nearby quarry. Ploughed up by Mr. Haigh, 1954, with flints and Iron Age sherds.
Elleron Lodge	SE 790915	BH Upper?	? ?	? ?	? ?	? ?	Seen on rockery at Lodge by R. Bell, 1963. NB on line of Roman Road.
Esklets, Westerdale	NZ 655017	BH (Esklets a Rievaulx grange post-1160. Trace of Celtic fields to east).	? ?	? ?	? ?	? ?	Ploughed out above Sike Gill by J. Stanforth 1959. Taken to Teesside by schoolmaster. Part of another - under ruin of farm building - found previously?
Felixkirk,	SE 46/84 ?						Information from Mrs. Magson, 1964.
Gillamoor	SE 68/89 ?	BH Lower (worn)	13" 14"	5½" 5" (spindle hole 1½") conical	4-5"))	2)))	Local limestone, proven- ance uncertain. W. Leng.
Glaisdale, Postgate Hill	NZ 710050	BH Upper? (Possibly another, kept by Mr. Haggart, same site).					Found and kept by R. Mould, 1959. Not seen by RHH.
Glaisdale, Low Wood	NZ 767066	BH	16"	6-7"	5"	2	Sandstone, picked. Set in wall of churchyard by G. Harland, who said 3 or 4 lower stones were also found.
Glaisdale, Wind Hill (or Wand Hill)	NZ 762064	BH (Ancient open fields of Domesday 'manchetons').	? ?	? ?	? ?	? ?	Half upper stone in wall (G. Harland).
Glass Holes Rosedale West	SE 73-74/ 92/94	Many roughed-out circular stones, some used in late 16th cent. glass furnaces, one 20-24" dia., 4" thick, central hole 4" dia. Kept at Scugdale Cottage. Others in walls.					Disused quarries on outcrop of moor grit.
Goathland, Julian Park	NZ 81/01	BH Upper Lower	14-15" 15"	9" 4" (shallow hole)	4-5"	3	Well-used feed-pipe worn to one side. Elgee, <i>Early Man</i> p. 217, fig. 66. In Whitby Museum?
Goathland, Hazel Head	SE 808996	FR? Lower	20"?	3" (well grooved)			Shown to F. Wilkinson by R. Mould, 1947.
Goldsborough, Roman Fort	NZ 836152	Upper and lower stones embedded in floor of tower, lower NE corner. No description of type. Reproduced by Hornsby & Laverick <i>Arch. Journal</i> vol. lxxxix, 1936, p. 210. In Whitby Museum?					
Grosmont,	NZ 828052	BH (See also Egton. H. P. Kendall reported a quern from Grosmont in Whitby Museum of imported type (lava). Lower stone. FR?).					Upper and lower stones in garden of Manor House (F. Weatherill).

Locality	Grid Ref.	Type	Diameter	Height	Hopper	Handle Holes	Remarks
Harome, Harome Hawe	SE 645809	BH Upper	13-14"	5"	4"	2	Ploughed up in field E. of Hall Garth Lane, Sandstone or drift? In L.P. Wenham's collection, St. John's College, York.
Harome, Cross Farm	SE 646822	Lower	14-15"	4" (Spindle hole 1½")			Well used, Dished, Moor grit? Kept by Mrs. G. Wood, Hall Garth.
Hartoft, Rock House	SE 955948	BH Upper	13"	7"	5"	2 (one worn)	Prob. millstone grit. Ploughed up and kept by Dring brothers.
Hartoft, Dyke House (S. of house, in Rosedale valley)	1) SE 743944 2) 3) 4)	FR Upper BH Upper Part of ledged pot-quern FR (part)	16" (part only found) 12"	3½" 3"	4½"	1-2" dia. (in side)	Given to Cundall Sherburn Coll. (All four local sandstone)
Harwood Dale,	SE 95/96		10"	5"	?	?	In Young's Hist. of Whitby, II, p. 764, fig. 7.
Helmsley (Council Offices, Bondgate)	1) SE 608829 2) SE 614810	 BH	10-13" 11-14"	7" 8"	5-1½" 4-5"	3 pipe to ¾"	From old garden in Duncombe Park. Kept by J. Milne, Ryegate. A.S.L. Pacitto has photo and description. 1 rectangular handle hole, very chipped all round. Extremely hard grey stone. (Very like the conical BH in Ryedale Folk Museum labelled 'Helmsley').
(Market place - B. Richardson) (In hedge by Rye Bridge)	3) SE 615838 4) SE 614836	BH Upper (picked) BH?	12" ? ?	5½" ? ?	5" ? ?	3 ? ?	See Plate 1. One handle hole worn away at base, one 2½" by 1½", the third 1½" by 1", 2½" above base. Reported by J. Grayson, not seen by RHH.
Hulley's Farm, nr. Cloughton	NZ 003961	2BH	Uppers and saddle-stones				Fragments recorded by Knox, East Yorks; Elgee, Early Man, pp. 215-5 - 2 bun-shaped in wall. This is an Iron Age occupation site and field system (Scarbro & Dist. Arch. Soc. Trans. 1958, vol. 1, no. 1).
Huntcliff Roman Fort	NZ 69/22	No details					Atkinson, 1874, reported in JRS 1912.
Hutton-le-Hole 1)	SE 705902	BH Upper	13"?	6"?	?	2	On rockery of Greengate Cottage, NE end of village until stolen in about 1957.
2)		FR Upper	13"	4-5"	3"	none	Divided with scored lines (10 harps); tenon for rynd. See Plate 2, top left. From wall of Independent Chapel. Seen by RWC and RHH. 1934.
Hutton-le-Hole Cooper's Riccal Field	SE 717894	FR	(fragment in paving of R-B hut: other pieces and half a BH in walls of field. See Ryedale Historian No. 2, 1966, pp. 12-19, Figs. 1 and 2). More pieces in lane walls E of Oxclose, SE 714889. Several in Ryedale Folk Museum.				
Hutton-le-Hole Lingmoor	SE 714884		Part of saddle-stone with cup pecked in it (Fig. 2.2) Neo-Bronze Age?				
Hutton Buscel Moor	SE 962885	BH?	(worn upper stone)				Knox, East Yorks, p. 18, fig. 7. (From small square enclosure with oval enclosure).
Ingleby Greenhow, Westwood Farm	NZ 577043	BH Upper	11½"	7"	5"	2 oval	(and 2 handle holes worn off at base of quern). Found 5 ft. down in stone field-drain. Given to R.S. Close, 1961.
Kilburn (Low)		Several BH upper and lower stones in Mr. T. Banks' garden, all from Scencliff Grange (see <u>Oldstead</u>).					

Locality	Grid Ref.	Type	Diameter	Height	Hopper	Handle Holes	Remarks
Kildale, Pale End	1) NZ 6110-1003	BH	12"	8" conical	4"	1	Fine-grained sandstone.
	2)	BH $\frac{1}{2}$ of lower	15"	6-9"	7" (Spindle hole $1\frac{1}{2}$ ")		Ploughed up on site over Iron Age hearth, under R-B paving
	3)	FR Upper	16"	$2\frac{1}{2}$ -3"		2	Light fossiliferous sandstone (local).
	4)	FR Upper	17"	$2\frac{1}{2}$ "		4" sq.	handle hole - for metal shaft?
	5)	FR Lower	16"	$2\frac{1}{2}$ " - broken			Worn. Grey limestone. Could belong to no. 3 - similar stone.
	6)	FR Lower	17"	4" - broken at spindle hole.			Burnt sandstone, set in R-B paving.
	7)	FR Lower	18"	$2\frac{1}{2}$ " fragment			Hard sandstone.
	8)	FR Lower	14"	$3\frac{1}{2}$ " fragment			Pitted and burnt.
	9-10)	FR Upper?	15-16"	2-3" fragments			In paving. See RHH and RSC in <u>YAJ</u> pt. 164, 1966.
Kildale, Percy Rigg Farm	1) NZ 627-9/099	BH	11-15"	7"	5-3"	1	Kept in front of farm.
	2)	Upper BH	oval 15"	8"	6-3"	1	As above.
	3)	Upper BH Lower	13"	conical 2-3"	(spindle hole $2\frac{1}{4}$ " by 1")		In back garden. Prob. all from Crag Bank Wood area?
Kildale, Percy Rigg (Iron Age Huts)	1) NZ 610115	BH Lower	12-10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " oval	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	(spindle hole $1\frac{1}{2}$ ")		Fine-grained sandstone, picked. For this group see YAJ vol. 44, 1972, 23-31. From ditch of Hut E, Fig. 9.
	2)		Half saddle stone, estimated size 16" by 16", $2\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. Convex. Worn.				From 3 ft. down in ditch of Hut D.
	3)		Rubbing stone, 14" by 7", 4" thick, convex, worked on outer sides.				Fig. 8, no. 1.
	4)		Half saddle, 16" x 9", 6-7" thick, convex.				In footings of Hut B.
	5)		Saddle, 12" by $5\frac{1}{2}$ ", 4" thick.				Used as pavingstone in Hut C. Sandstone, No. 8 in report.
	6)		6 other fragments found (saddles and rubbers)				All in R.S. Close collection, Kildale.
Little Kildale, Warren House	1) NZ 624091	Part of FR quern of Mayen lava.)	Seen by R.S. Close, 1972
	2)	FR, sandstone)	
Kildale, Crag Bank Wood	1) NZ 630098	BH Upper)			To be published in <u>YAJ</u> .
	2)	FR)			Hut site in field system with Iron Age and Roman sherds.
	3)	Saddle)			
Kildale, Lonsdale (or Lounsedale)	NZ 613107	BH Upper					Iron Age and Roman sherds, to be published in <u>YAJ</u> .
nr. Kirby in Cleveland Creyke Nest	NZ 54/07 approx.	BH Upper	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	10" conical	7" dia. 6" deep to $\frac{3}{8}$ " pipe	2 rec- tangular	Very fine stone, well-worked millstone grit. Ploughed up 1970.
Lease Rigg, SW of Grosmont (Egton parish)	NZ 81/04	BH	?	?	?	?	Mr. Smedley of High Burrows (Roman Camp Site) reported seeing querns in walls near Coldharbour Lane. Some kept at Egton Manor. Confirmed.
Levisham Moor	1) SE 833924	BH Lower	13"	4"	(Spindle hole $3\frac{1}{4}$ " by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ", concave, well-used)	8" down in Enclosure A, S. entrance.	
	2)				Part of upper in filled-in ditch, 5 ft. down with Iron Age sherds.		
	3) SE 831924	BH Upper	13"	8"	$4\frac{3}{4}$ "	1	Limestone. Inside Enclosure B near junction with linear ditch.
	4)				Pieces of saddle stones sealed by moor-pan under rampart, SE side, with Iron Age sherds and three hut sites.		(Key site, to be published <u>Scarbro' & Dist. Arch. Soc.</u>)

Locality	Grid Ref.	Type	Diameter	Height	Hopper	Handle Holes	Remarks
Lingmoor	See <u>Hutton-le-Hole</u>						
Liverton, Tickhill Farm, (Mr. Tindall)	NZ 712150	BH Upper	12"	9" conical	4½-1"	2	Kept by F. Weatherill, Danby. (Note square enclosure S of farm at NZ 713148: ploughed out, but shows on air photos. Levisham-type enclosure).
Lockton	SE 844902	BH Upper	13-14"	6" bun-shaped	4½"	2	2 spindle-holes, worn. Ploughed up by Mr. Smith 1970.
W of Malton, Musley Bank (Site of Roman villa)	SE 71/77	?	?	?			A Roman mill or quern, found on the farm of the late John Key. See Hinderwell MS, 1825 (Scarbro' Museum); given to Malton Lit. Inst. - ? now in Roman Museum? Very little known of this site, though mosaics were found in early 19th cent.
Malton, Site of Roman Fort, 1st-5th cent.	SE 790715	(In Malton Roman Museum are 5 BH Upper stones, none labelled, 2 certainly from Langton Villa, or more likely the Iron Age farm preceding it).					
	1)		10½"	6"	4½"	2	(through Hunsbury type millstone to hopper) grit.
	2)		10½"	7"	4½" by 1½"	2	(remains Millstone grit, of wooden handle)
	3)		11"	7"	4"	2	Millstone grit?
	4)		13-11"	6½"	5½"	2	Picked. Local limestone.
	5"		12½-10"	5" bun-shaped	3½-1½"	2 or 3 (one broken)	Sandstone.
	(Not listed here are at least 18 FR types in Malton Museum. Dozens are unrecorded or lost. One complete example is set over seat of latrine in shop area, Orchard Field <u>YA</u> pt. 162, vol. 41, 1964).						
Malton, Old	SE79-80/ 72-73	"... also the upper stone of a Roman hand-mill of Andernach lava, having the original iron rhind secured by lead; together with the lower stone of a pot-quern, with a hole for the discharge of corn at the side; both found with animal bones near Old Malton, 1849". (Bateman, <u>Ten Years Digging</u> 1861).					
Newbiggin Hall	(see <u>Egton</u>)						
Newton upon Rawcliffe	(see <u>Breckenbrough, Low</u>)						
Normanby, Teesside	NZ 550164 (approx.)	3 conical BH querns in Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough, two of them close-grained sandstone; iron peg or spindle; bone and wooden pegs. Cf. J. C. Atkinson, <u>Gentleman's Magazine</u> , 1863, and <u>History of Cleveland</u> , 1874, pp. 42-3; Elgee, <u>Romans in Cleveland</u> , p. 13.					
Nova Lodge, N. of Pickering	SE 792874	BH?	Ploughed up south of house in 1939				Both finds here given to Dr. J. L. Kirk.
Nova Lodge,	SE 795877	?	Found in wall close to N bank of ditched rectangular enclosure, 1910. Now ploughed out.				See Hinderwell's <u>Scarborough</u> , p. 12.
Nunthorpe, Middlesbrough	1) NZ 53/14	BH Upper	15"	12" conical	5-6" pipe ¾"	2 or 3	Well dressed gritstone.
	2)	BH Upper	15"	9" bun-shaped	5" pipe 1"	2	Found by Sam Wilson, jun. In Dorman Museum.
Oldstead, Scencliff Grange	1) SE 527794	BH Upper	13"	8" conical	4"	3	Picked. Sandstone.
	2)	Lower	12"	4"	(spindle hole 1½")		Well used. Sandstone.
	3)	Half BH Upper	11-12"	7½"	4"	2? (broken off)	Well worn. Concave
	4)	Lower	11-12"	6"	(spindle hole 1½")		Worn. Concave.
	5)	Upper	11"?	5"	3½-1"		Broken. Millstone grit.
	6)	Upper	13"	7-8"	5½"	pipe groove doubled	Fine sandstone.
	7)	Lower	14"	7"	(large rough base - burnt)		Sandstone.
(all kept by Mr. T. Banks, Low Kilburn. He says over 20 querns were kept. (N.B., no flat rotary types). Also R-B pottery and a bronze ring. Site W. of house according to Mr. A. Banks).							

Locality	Grid Ref.	Type	Diameter	Height	Hopper	Handle Holes	Remarks
Pickering District	Several reported. See G. Home, <u>Evolution of an English Town</u> , 1905.						
Riseborough Hill, Hagg Farm.	SE 756833	BH Upper	? ?	? ?	? ?	? ?	Found in pond by N. Davidson, 1930 (R. W. Crosland) C.f. <u>Scarbro' Dist. Report</u> 4, p. 29.
Rievaulx Abbey	SE 577849	Lava pot-quern (mediaeval) Upper and Lower.	16" ?	5½" ?	4" ?	2 ?	Pub. C. G. Dunning, <u>Arch. Jnl.</u> vol. xlv, 1965, p. 63, fig. 11.
Rook Barugh	1) SE 720822 2)	FR BH ½ Upper	18" 11" ?	4" 6" ?	4" 5" ?	none 1 ?	Kept by J. Wood, Normanby. No exact site - prob. from same locality.
Rosedale	See <u>Hartoft</u> (Dyke House).						
Roxby Low Moor	1) NZ 763145	BH Upper	12"	6"	4½-1"	3 (2 holes worn down to base)	Picked. Poorly worked, uneven scoring on grinding face. In Iron Age round hut, with small amount of pottery.
	2)	3 fragments of saddle-stones (Excavations by Teesside Arch. Soc. 1973. There is an enclosure to E, and 3 or 4 other huts unexcavated).					
Scarborough, Castle Hill	SE 04/89	Saddle quern in ditch of Roman 4th century fort - early Iron Age site. Cf. <u>History of Scarborough</u> ed. A. Rowntree: M. Wheeler, p. 27: <u>Collingwood & Smith</u> , 1925-7. In Scarborough Museum.					
Seamer, Cross Gates	SE 028 843/4	Iron Age/R.B site with enclosure and hut (?), occupied well into Saxon period. See <u>Scarborough & District Research Report</u> no. 1, 1958, to which figure nos. below refer,					
	1)	BH Upper	14"	6¾"	6"	2 worn to base	Gritstone. Fig. 41.1.
	2)	BH Upper	14"	5½"	?	?	Limestone. Fig. 41.4.
	3)	FR	14½"	1¾"	(fragment)		Mayen Lava. Fig. 41.2.
	4)	FR Upper	25"	3¾"	(fragment)		Gritstone. Fig. 41.3.
	5)	FR	(three fragments)				Gritstone. Figs. 41.6/7/9.
	6)	BH? Lower	14"	?	?	flat base, concave upper surface,	Fig. 41.8.
Seamer Moor	SE 02/86	3 small millstones. See <u>Hinderswell</u> , <u>Scarborough</u> , 1832, p. 12.					
Sleights, Hall	NZ 86/06	Three BH, dia. approx 13-14". Information by letter from F. Wilkinson, 1944. One of porphyry (or millstone grit?), very heavy, 2 handle-holes; second sandstone, 1 handle-hole; third of Aislaby stone, no handle-hole.					
Sneaton	NZ 895078	BH Upper	13-14"	?	Hopper not vertical	2	F. Wilkinson, 1946. Later taken to Sleights Hall.
Sowerby, Thirsk		? BH Upper	No details, but see <u>Thirkleby</u>				
Sinnington Manor	SE 723854	½ FR Upper	15"	3¼"	3-4"?	2	Close-grained sandstone, burnt. Slot-holes for rynd broken off.
		Also fragment of ribbed FR. Also from R-B 4-5th century site on clayey hill-top. Unpublished.					
Spaunton former New Inn	SE 723897	2 BH Upper	13"?	6-7"	4-5"	2?	Dug up 3 ft. down, 1935. Taken to Pickering, 1958, by L. Lazenby.
		(Excavation nearby (1964) produced mediaeval foundations and sherds)					
Spaunton Old Pasture (R-B aisled farmhouse)	1) SE 721893	Several saddle-stones, up to 15" long, 3½-9" thick. Well worn and burnt. In early pit.					All refs. for this group are to <u>Ryedale Hist.</u> no. 3 pp. 15, 22.
	2)	BH Upper	11½"	5½"	5"	1 worn	Under floor. All BH broken or re-used.
	3)	BH Upper	13½"	7"	(broken)	1-2?	Fig. 4 (p. 23), no. 1. Found in wall.
	4)	2 Lowers 14-15" 4"					
	5)	Two sets of complete though broken FRs, 14-15" dia. Upper stones worn, grooved. 1 iron spindle in situ. Coin of Allectus nearby.					

Locality	Grid Ref.	Type	Diameter	Height	Hopper	Handle Holes	Remarks	
Spaunton, in field walls on Hutton boundary	1) SE 715893	BH	13½"	9"			Weathered, uneven. Gritstone?	
	2)	Upper BH	13"	6½"	3½"	1	Scratched by plough.	
	3)	Upper BH	13-14"	5-7"	4½"	2 (one worn)	Misshapen stone.	
	4)	Upper BH	12"	5"	4"	1		
	5)	Several fragments of FRs, some ribbed					14 stones in Ryedale Folk Museum, BH & FR.	
Swinton, nr. Malton		FR Upper & Lower	14"	Two freestones with chiselled faces; iron spindle in centre. 'Holes in sides whereby it had been turned by means of sticks' (<u>Malton Messenger</u> 19/3/1869).				
Thornton Dale	SE 83/83	BH	?	?	?	?	Seen in Green's cafe 1958. See Home, <u>op.cit.</u> (1905).	
Thirsk	SE 43/82	BH Upper?	?	?	?	?	In Derby Museum (T.C. Manby).	
Thirkleby, Sandhill Farm, Mr. R. Wilkinson	SE 482780	BH	11"	5"	4"	1) R-B paved floor ploughed up, stones thrown in beck. Inf. Miss D. Cleverly. 2 querns found, certainly more.	
		Upper		bun-shaped				
		Lower	13"	6-8"	(spindle-hole 1½")			
Topstone Folly - See <u>Egton</u>								
Upsall (W. of Guisborough)	1) NZ 55/15	BH	13-14"	6"	3-1½"	1	Picked ext.	
	2)	Upper BH	13"	8-9"	5-6"	2-3	Grit - Hunsbury type.	
	3)	Upper BH	13"	9"	6"	2 (as above)	Sandstone?	
	4)	Upper BH Lower	14-15"	4-5"			All 4 in Dorman Museum.	
Welburn Hall (W. of Kirby Moorside)		19th century: several hand-mill stones and other relics in collection of Mr. Parker (Whellan, <u>Hist. & Top. of N. Riding</u> , 1857).						
Westerdale (See <u>Castleton</u> and <u>Eskletts</u>)	1) NZ 66/06	2 BH Uppers	13"	6-7"	3½"	2	Fine sandstone, picked.	
	2)	2 BH Uppers	12-13"	6"	4½"	2	Said to have been found in a drain in village by J. Ford; now in garden of Ellerstang, Castleton.	
Whitby	NZ 89/10-11	BH Lower?	?	?	?	?	From site of Bagdale Hotel. Others in garden (A. Smith to RHH).	
Whitby, Stockton Walk	1) NZ 898010	½ BH					See Rev. G. Young, <u>Hist. of Whitby</u> .	
	2)	Upper BH	?	?	?	?	From Miss Keightley's collection, now at 14 Stakesby Vale (A. Smith).	
	3)	Upper BH	13"	7"	3½"	2	There are several quernstones in Pannett Park Museum - none labelled. In 1950-60 they had a BH Upper (3 above) set in a medieval pot-quern base. The base was 14½" dia., 4" high, with spout hole, of Mayen lava (cf. <u>Rievaulx Abbey</u>).	
Whitby Moorgate Leas.		BH Stones reported by F. Wilkinson (not seen by RHH).						

Notes on Ryedale Churches:

(7) Kirkdale Revisited

by Cyril King

So much has been written about Kirkdale that it might seem superfluous to add yet another account of the church. Yet I believe there is much evidence which has been overlooked - or at least which has not yet been considered in all possible lights. It is with this in mind that such evidence is here presented and examined. Whilst no hard facts can emerge, it opens the way for some new thinking about Kirkdale.

In order to familiarise the reader with the church as it stands today, a brief summary of the known history follows.

The present church was founded about 1060 and was built upon the site of a yet earlier church which at that time lay in ruins. So much we learn from the inscription upon the surviving Saxon sundial now placed over the south entrance. During the course of centuries the late Saxon church was altered, parts were rebuilt or repaired, and entirely new portions were added so that today there is work of many periods incorporated in the building. Although some of the architectural features may be dated with a fair degree of accuracy, it is indeed difficult to reconstruct a complete history of the church from the present day remains.

As in the case of many so-called "ancient churches", by far the greater part of the structure is modern. This includes the whole of the chancel and the west tower, the greater part of the walling of the north aisle together with its windows, and much of the nave, although in this case old stones have been re-used. As in so many other instances, this wrongly suggest to the casual visitor that the entire building must be old.

The genuine medieval features include the Saxon west entrance - now giving access to the tower - the shafts of the chancel arch, together with at least part of their housing, and fragments of the nave walling, all of which belonged to the original church of 1060. In addition there is the famous Saxon sundial over the south entrance, and there are three Saxon crosses embedded in the fabric of the nave, two low down on the south side, and a third nine feet from the ground in the west wall. Two old grave slabs were removed from the west wall early this century. Later work includes the aisle arcade of about 1200 and the south entrance, generally assigned to the same period, the 13th century doorway and low-side window built into the modern chancel, the 15th century windows of the nave and north chapel, and the medieval chancel arch together with the arch leading to the north chapel.

Most of the guide books assure us that a great deal of the nave is Saxon, belonging the church of c.1060, whilst, almost in the same breath, drawing attention to the Saxon crosses embedded in the south and west walls. But these same crosses provide reason for thinking that this may not be true. Of the two crosses in the south wall, one has been authoritatively dated late 11th century¹ and is carved with a rude crucifix, the figure with a forked beard, and a serpent at the foot of the cross, though these details are no longer discernible. The other has its face turned inwards and cannot therefore be dated with any certainty, but it would seem probable that both are of the same age. The dating - of the former at least - cannot conceivably be any earlier than c.1060, coeval with, or later than, the foundation of the church. These stones cannot therefore have been inserted at the time of the building of the Saxon church. It is unthinkable that intricately carved crosses would have been so fashioned to occupy their present positions, since both are placed sideways almost at ground level where they cannot properly be observed except on hands and knees. Had they been inserted now, they would undoubtedly have been set upright and at eye level, whilst the inwardly turned cross would never have been so placed. Since they were neither inserted as ornaments nor as curiosities, they must in fact have been used merely as convenient building stones and can only have been placed in their present positions some considerable time after the church was built and when the crosses were old. Because they were used purely as building stones they cannot be regarded as later insertions; clearly a major repair of the nave is indicated when the south wall at any rate was pulled down to the ground and rebuilt. It is clear that very little Saxon work - if any at all - must remain in the south wall. The siting of these large crosses just above ground level show that this wall must have been almost, if not completely, demolished during the repair. It may be thought possible that a portion of the wall to the west of these crosses was retained, but taking into consideration the later south entrance and the absence of Saxon long-and-short work in the quoins, despite such work appearing in the north-west quoins, it would hardly seem likely; in all probability the whole of the wall was demolished. Despite this, most guide books inform us that the Saxon sundial over the south doorway appears to be in its original position: perhaps they mean that it has been reset in that place.

With regard to the west wall, the mysterious grave slabs formerly embedded low down in the wall, and at one time believed to be those of King Ethelwold and St. Cedd, have been dated "at least 300 years later".² This would be 964 or later, but I should have thought the true date was at least 100 years earlier than this because both the stones carry Anglian carving, and this dating agrees with Collingwood's "up to two centuries later". Be that as it may, it is almost certain that these two stones were in fact inserted during the building of the Saxon church, for there is evidence that this part of the wall has never been disturbed (cf.

infra). It must also be remembered that these stones are probably some 200 years earlier than the crosses of the south wall and would therefore be two centuries old when the church was built.

The cross embedded in the wall to the north of the modern tower is nine feet from the ground and it is significant that it is precisely at this level where the remaining Saxon long-and-short terminates and is replaced by ordinary bond. This cross, carved with interlacing knot-work, is undoubtedly Danish and apparently belongs to the 11th century. It would seem that the west wall also was taken down, to about the level of the Saxon doorway, which was left intact together with the adjacent fabric. This fragment of the old nave - the west entrance together with the fabric to the north, and perhaps a few stones to the south of it - is all that remains of the Saxon nave. Surely not a "great deal".

There is no written record of when this major repair of the nave was carried out, not is there any direct evidence from architectural remains, but despite lack of positive proof I believe that there is a great deal of evidence which helps to indicate when this work was done. In the first place there are old prints showing the church as it was during the early 19th century. Probably the earliest is that which appears in Archaeologia V. 188, but my drawing is taken from the Rev. Powell's (vicar 1904-30) drawing of a water-colour done in 1821, and from an engraving in Historia Rievallensis (1824). At once we notice an enormous stepped buttress in the centre of the nave. Judging by its style this seems to me to be a 15th century buttress, or later - certainly not earlier - and its nature shows that it was erected for the purpose of repair rather than normal building practice. It must be remembered that there was never any transverse arch at this juncture whose thrust might require a compensating buttress, nor were the walls pierced by a series of large windows as in Perpendicular style where buttresses were incorporated. In any case so large a stepped buttress as is shown in the drawing would only have been used for urgent repair. It is clear, therefore, that an old wall had in the 15th century (or later) become unsafe and was strengthened by the buttress in question. The very presence of that buttress shows that no rebuilding of the wall was done at that time - nor indeed up to the time of the drawing. This is confirmed by the high old roof of the drawing, a style which was employed during the period to which we suppose the buttress belongs. Had a rebuilding of the nave been carried out at this time a low-pitched roof would almost certainly have been incorporated. It follows then that the major repair of the nave - which amounted to a virtual rebuilding - must have been done before then, and, one would imagine, some considerable time before, as the nave wall must have by then been old to need repair.

Let us turn our attention to the north aisle for a moment. We are informed that the aisle was added c.1200, and this is amply borne out by the existing arcade (hold-water bases, primitive waterleaf and ramshorn carving of the capitals, and the high pointed arches). But looking at the west wall there is a very distinct "join-up", continuous from top to bottom, which shows that the aisle wall must have been joined on to an older nave wall. (A little consideration makes it clear that had this "join-up" not existed in the first place, any subsequent rebuilding of the nave or aisle could not have resulted in such a join as appears today). The older nave wall must therefore have been completely Saxon, or partly Saxon (lower 9 ft.) and partly later as it is today. In other words, the major repair of the nave could not have been carried out at the same time that the aisle was added, or else the "join-up" still to be seen in the west wall would not have been apparent above the limit of the Saxon fabric. It remains to discover whether the nave was virtually rebuilt before or after the addition of the aisle.

The south entrance is generally held to be c.1200, i.e. coeval with the aisle, but if one may also date the rebuilding of the nave by the south entrance, it has been shown that this dating cannot be true. The doorway in question can scarcely be considered as much later than c.1200 because of its Romanesque arch, especially since the arcade (c.1200) was done in Gothic style as were the early 13th century windows and doorway of the chancel. One must therefore think of the doorway - and the rebuilding of the nave - as being Norman.

If the nave was in fact largely rebuilt during the Norman period, a new south doorway would certainly have been incorporated. Although it was usual for Saxon churches to possess a west door, this arrangement was not favoured by post-Conquest builders and there are very many instances of a west doorway being blocked and replaced by a later south door. Indeed, at Appleton-le-Street the first alteration which the Normans made to the Saxon church was the resiting of the west door. In accepting a Norman rebuilding of the nave one must therefore also accept that the present south entrance is Norman for it would be difficult to imagine the doorway being renewed as early as c.1200.

The theory of a Norman rebuilding of the nave is completely substantiated by the Rev. Powell's drawing of the old church, for in it there appears in the west end a round-headed, narrow opening placed high in the wall, which is without doubt a window of Norman origin. (A Saxon window is unacceptable because it has been shown that the Saxon west wall was pulled down to within 9 ft. from the ground).

The only difficulty in assuming a Norman nave is in respect of the

Saxon sundial. Most authors affirm that the slab "apparently occupies its original position over the south door". The Saxon church would not, of course, have possessed a south door. The placing of the dial exactly centrally over the present doorway is indeed a remarkable coincidence; besides, it has already been shown that the south nave wall had in early times been taken down to ground level. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that the dial appears to have been replaced in its original position, though I should have thought that it would originally have been set in the chancel wall. That being so, in assuming a Norman rebuilding of the nave one can scarcely imagine the dial being taken from the chancel wall and reset in the new nave. One can only think that this was done later, say in the 13th century when we know that the chancel was rebuilt. The dial would then have been replaced by the mass dials which appear in the jambs of the 13th century priest's door. The difficulty is, of course, at once resolved if the dial had in the first instance been placed somewhere in the nave wall.

The next alterations were carried out during the early 13th century when the chancel was rebuilt. Elements of this chancel have been built into the present 19th century structure: the low side window and the priest's door, replaced in their former positions, are typical of Early English style. In the drawing these elements are shown in the old chancel but the roof is quite out of character with the period. One would expect to see a high roof with large overhang, but it is believed that the shallow roof of the drawing belongs to the 17th century, for when the chancel was renewed in 1881, one of the old roof beams was found to carry the date 1633.

The north chapel is thought to belong to the 13th century but the evidence here is less certain and seems to be based upon the medieval arch giving access from the chancel. On the other hand, this could be a 15th century feature. The old window in the east end is undoubtedly 15th century, and if the chapel may be dated from this one must think also of the arch as belonging to that period. However, there is insufficient evidence to suggest 15th rather than 13th century. Likewise, the chancel arch is difficult to date and again opinion is divided. Perhaps one may think of a 13th century renewal when the chancel was rebuilt, but, again, the evidence is insufficient and the arch could be two centuries later. In any case the original Saxon columns with their capitals and bases have remained until the present day. Most writers claim that the jambs are also original Saxon work, but this is perhaps less certain. For the most part they are obscured by modern plaster and cannot therefore be examined. A small portion of stonework is exposed near the ground, but it is difficult to say whether this is Saxon or not. The bases of the columns are set in old stones embedded in the floor which do not appear to have been

disturbed at any time. Although the span is unusually wide for a Saxon arch, there are grounds for thinking that the responds - in their lower part at least - may well be Saxon and that the columns remain undisturbed in their original position.

These early alterations to the Saxon church have been considered as three distinct phases: 1) The rebuilding of the nave in Norman times; 2) The addition of the aisle, c.1200; and 3) The renewing of the chancel during the early 13th century. But these periods follow each other so closely that one may consider the alterations as one phase in which the whole of the work was conceived in one original plan, the actual work being spread over a period of time - perhaps 50 years. But if such were the case, it may be argued, the alterations could have commenced about 1200 with the rebuilding of the nave, when the south door would also be of that age, and were completed with the building of the early 13th century chancel, a period of say 25 years - or even considerably less. However, there are two important factors which suggest that this was not so: the "join-up" of the west wall, and the Norman window in the west wall. It is, of course, possible that phase two and three were in fact carried out as one project almost, if not quite, at the same time.

And so we come to the 15th century. The three-light nave window belongs to this period (and is the typical "maid of all work" described in Ryedale Historian No. 4). So also does the east window in the chapel already mentioned, and the square-headed, two-light window in the chancel shown in the old drawing. (During 19th century restoration, when the chancel was rebuilt, this window seems to have been preserved and built into the nave wall over the porch). No doubt these windows were inserted to improve the lighting, which up until that time may only have been afforded by Norman slits in the nave, and in the chancel by Early English lancets.

Once again turning our attention to the aisle, this time the north wall (exterior), we notice a narrow horizontal ledge some two feet from the ground and about three inches wide at the eastern end tapering into the wall before reaching the west end. This suggests a rebuilding upon older foundations and it would seem that the courses below this ledge are all that remains of the original aisle wall of c.1200. This is supported by the ground plan of the church which shows that the aisle wall is not parallel with the nave, diverging from west to east. The tapering ledge may well be the result of an attempt by 15th century builders to correct this error on the part of the earlier builders.

About half way up the wall there is a wide but modern string-course above which the masonry sharply contrasts with that below. The upper stage is pierced by two identical modern windows built in Perpendicular

style, whilst the west window is a modern reproduction of the ancient window in the chapel. If one assumes that these windows are built in the style of those which they replaced, then a 15th century rebuilding of the aisle wall is indicated, the upper stage further rebuild in modern times.

The large buttress in the centre of the nave already mentioned, was perhaps also of 15th century origin. It is interesting to recall that this buttress no longer exists and must have been taken down during 19th century restoration. If the wall was unsafe enough to require such a repair in the 15th century, it must have been even more unsafe 400 years later when the buttress was dispensed with. This, of course, means that during the 19th century the wall must have been very thoroughly restored, a process which could better be described as "rebuilt". Thus the old Saxon nave has been virtually rebuilt on two occasions and perhaps "restored" at other times. Surely very little Saxon work can remain. On the other hand it is clear that old stones - some perhaps original stones from the Saxon nave - were re-used in the 19th century rebuilding; moreover the nave has undoubtedly been rebuilt upon the old Saxon foundations.

It is not possible to date the porch with any accuracy but perhaps it may have been built in 1771 when the Saxon sundial was discovered, apparently under a covering of plaster, by the Rev. William Dade, rector of Barmston. In any case this is not the first porch, as is apparent from examination of the angle at the east side, for here there is a column of older stones up to which the wall of the present porch has been built, resulting in a similar "join-up" to the one in the west wall of the church. Judging by the complete absence of a dripstone over the arch of the south entrance it seems there has been a porch since the doorway was built in Norman times. If no porch had been planned, the arch would certainly have been provided with a dripstone.

Of exceptional interest are the fragments of pre-Conquest crosses and other carved stones now resting in the north aisle. Amongst these, a fragment, apparently of Anglian date, is carved with the same curious spiral which is found on the responds of the chancel arch at Ellerburn. (See Ryedale Historian No. 6).

So it has been possible to piece together a fairly continuous history of the church. The methods of investigation, though sometimes unorthodox, at least seem to be sound in their reasoning. At any rate, this is perhaps the nearest approach to the truth which one can hazard about events, most of which happened in the remote past without record other than that written in the stones themselves.

SUMMARY OF PROBABLE RECONSTRUCTIONS...?

<u>PERIOD</u>	<u>REMAINS</u>
<u>c.1060</u> Saxon church built consisting of the usual two-cell structure - nave and chancel - with a west entrance.	The west entrance and the fabric of the wall northwards and perhaps a few stones southwards. Responds of the chancel arch. The sundial (reset in present position).
<u>12th cent.</u> Nave largely rebuilt. Saxon west doorway blocked and replaced by south entrance.	South doorway. Spandrels of the arcade.
<u>c.1200</u> North aisle added.	Aisle arcade. Lower courses of of north wall.
<u>Early 13th cent.</u> Chancel rebuilt. North chapel added (?)	Chancel arch (?) North chapel arch (?) Priest's door with scratch dials and low-side window adjacent (reset).
<u>15th cent.</u> New window inserted in nave and central buttress built. New window inserted in chancel. North chapel built (?) or new window inserted. Chancel arch renewed (?) North wall of aisle rebuilt.	Three-light window in nave. Two-light window of the chancel (now in the nave). Fabric of aisle wall (lower). Chancel arch (?) North chapel arch (?) North chapel window.
<u>17th cent.</u> Chancel roof renewed.	-
<u>18th cent.</u> Porch renewed.	Porch.
<u>19th cent.</u> Nave largely rebuilt. Chancel rebuilt. Chancel window re-set in nave. Aisle wall rebuilt, (upper) Tower added and blocked west entrance opened.	

Footnotes

1. Associated Architectural Societies' Reports X11, 202.
2. Y.A.J., XX1, 283, Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses of a Pre-Conquest Age, 17.

Limestone and Water

Aspects of Medieval Settlement on the Hambleton Hills

by John McDonnell

1 Introductory

The Hambleton Hills form the south-western corner of the North Yorkshire Moors; approximately the triangle lying west and south of the valley of the Upper Rye, from Black Hambleton on the western scarp, down to the spectacular massifs of Whitestone Cliff and Roulston Scar, then declining eastwards round the corner, past the Kilburn White Horse (19th Century) to Oswaldkirk, where the Coxwold-Gilling Gap opens out into the Vale of Pickering. Geologically, the Hambletons are a westerly extension of the limestone 'Tabular Hills' which run in from the coast at Scarborough along the northern edge of the Vale of Pickering.

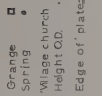
Frequent indications of prehistoric visits and, by degrees, small-scale occupation occur on the plateau, particularly near the line of 'Hambleton Street', the Bronze Age highway which follows the rim of the western escarpment. The Roman period has left no trace of occupation on the plateau itself, though Romano-British villa sites have been identified round its skirts, while further east the Roman training camps at Cawthorn are perched on the very crest of the Tabular Hills above Pickering.

By Domesday there were four settlements - Cold Kirby, 'Begeland' (Old Byland), Murton and Scauton - established on the plateau. Though the Harrying of the North had left all but Begeland waste and virtually depopulated,¹ the names and sites of the rest survived, and with the coming of the Cistercians in the mid-12th century the greater part of the plateau was for the first time put to intensive use, mainly as a series of sheep-ranches, but with lay communities re-established on much the same village sites as Domesday Book had recorded, with their own common field systems as well as pasture. The same general pattern emerges, incidentally, in other parts of the Tabular Hills, where monastic sheep-farming brought about a gradual increase (or revival) of the lay population, with villages actually on the limestone uplands as well as in the more sheltered fold of ground between the Tabular Hills and the 'black' moors to the north.

2 The Geological background

Despite the impressive escarpments on the west and part of the south sides of the Hambletons, the back-slope of the plateau in fact declines steadily from over 1200 ft. at its north-west corner, towards the east and south, while its north-eastern 'hypotenuse' is deeply scored by steep-sided

Fig. 1



valleys, often dry for the upper part of their length, carrying tributaries down to the Rye. The general water-table is governed by a stratum of Oxford Clay underlying the limestone and sandstone, giving a spring-line at about 550 ft. O.D. on the west and 325 ft. towards the east. Particularly the western rim of the plateau, and also many of the shoulders running east between these valleys, present the appearance of a totally waterless and almost treeless steppe; it is hardly surprising that the Careby² of Domesday Book is now distinguished from other Kirbys by the epithet 'Cold'. Why then did Angles and Danes, and before them the builders of the various linear dikes and Studfold Ring, choose to settle and farm on such an inhospitable tableland? And whence did they obtain water for themselves and their stock?

Before we consider the individual settlements in more detail, it is worth considering briefly the nature of limestone. It is in some degree a pervious formation. But most drainage of water takes place, not slowly through the rock itself, but more rapidly through faults and fissures in the strata. There is, furthermore, a notable side-effect of this water-action. "Limestone is different from all other rocks of widespread occurrence in this country in that it is soluble in weak acid - even including rain-water which has absorbed carbon dioxide from the atmosphere ... The rain-water which sinks into the ground finds its way into fissures in the rock and there ... it proceeds to dissolve away part of the rock." (Hence our local 'windy-pits', 'sinks' and 'swallows', where water-action has widened the original faults into considerable caves). This chemical action, however, is usually incomplete. "If the limestone is impure - as most limestones are - an insoluble residue is left when the lime is all dissolved ... So in most limestone country there are pockets of clay..."³ On the Hambletons it is these largely random deposits of impermeable clay which complicate the geological picture and explain the periodic presence of water at or near the surface of the plateau. Equally, the height at which springs emerge on the steep scarps and dale sides is by no means always governed by the main Oxford Clay substratum. There is, therefore, rather more water to be found on the Hambletons than appears at first sight. It should be borne in mind, too, that in the Middle Ages and earlier the climate was wetter and springs more vigorous than is the case today.

3 Water and the pattern of settlement on the Hambletons

With the current threat to international oil supplies fresh in our minds, it need require no great imaginative effort to appreciate how dependent we have also become in these islands on a constant supply of water, piped and purified. Because it has been so readily and cheaply available, we have grown used to squandering it. Yet it is only a hundred years or so since the vast majority of our population still went to the spring or to the well to fetch water for household needs.

Man requires water for drinking, cooking, and at least a minimal amount for washing. The needs of his domesticated animals vary. Horses, cattle, fowls, all drink frequently; sheep and goats can get by for comparatively long periods with no water other than the dew or rain standing on the pasture they crop. Yet the assumption that they can be left entirely unprovided with water is false. Even in our temperate climate, the Sussex dewponds were not built by sentimentalists, and it is noticeable that on the high summer sheep pastures of Cumberland and Northumberland, the shepherds sited their shielings near a water supply.⁴

To see how the inhabitants and flocks of the Hambleton plateau fared before the days of hydraulic rams and reservoirs, we need to relate each of the settlements recorded in Domesday to available sources of water.

(a) Murton (Grange), SE 536880. The modern farm, standing on a broad, flat shoulder between Gowerdale and Caydale, at over 800 ft., has water pumped up from a spring in Dale Town in the Gowerdale ravine. A few clayponds - one in the farmyard - indicate earlier attempts to alleviate the water problem, but these could only have provided a small and unreliable reserve for stock. How then did a township, however small, manage to exist here in the 11th century? The answer is implicit in a charter of c.1170-80⁵ which records a grant by William Engeram to Byland Abbey of "a spring in Dale (Town) called Wudekelde with a free and sufficient way to the spring for the Abbot and all his men and cattle at Morton ... and round the spring full easement for the watering and other uses of his men and their cattle." It seems probable that this charter merely confirms a right of access which was operative even before the monks acquired the Murton property. Certainly by the end of the 12th century, and presumably for some centuries thereafter, this spring, reached from the Grange by a precipitous track dropping some 250 feet down the almost sheer side of Gowerdale, was the principal source of water for the men and beasts of Murton. The beasts could at least be driven down to the spring, but to carry or cart water up for human consumption must have occupied many man-hours - or conceivably woman-hours.

It may be noted, before we leave Murton, that Saxton's plan of the Old Byland area⁶ shows not one but two farms in the Murton township. About three-quarters of a mile due west of the present farm Saxton marks another, even more exposed to the weather and further from the Dale Town spring, which he labels 'Cold Morton Grainge'.

(b) Cold Kirby, SE 533844. Two miles south of Murton, at just the same height - 800 ft. O.D. - and on an equally bleak part of the plateau, this street village is strung out westwards of the knoll on which the church stands. Immediately north-east of the knoll a dry gully forms the mouth of Scrodale (or Scarrowdale), which eventually

joins Flassendale and Tankerdale to form Nettledale, another typically steep-sided ravine running down to meet the Rye south of Rievaulx Abbey. Fetching water from the springs at the junction of Scrodale and Tankerdale would involve a trudge of over half a mile, with a 200 ft. drop. But in this instance there was no need for a daily journey, because a small spring issues, even today, from under the church (and of course churchyard) knoll. There are indications that a sizeable pond formerly existed below the spring. The spring water is now fed into a cattle-trough, but it must surely have been the normal village supply in earlier days, and may explain why, unlike Murton, Cold Kirby was able to develop as a village rather than as a mere sheep-grange.

Here, then, we have an example of one of these unexpected natural cisterns in the limestone, providing water on the surface close to the 800 ft. contour. It is not an infallible supply, however. Mr. A. Anderson, now of Bagby, but born in Scawton and schooled in Cold Kirby, tells of Kirby men driving their stock to water at Grass Keld (SE 552847) at the junction of Flassendale with Nettledale in time of drought, and even taking water-carts to Old Byland, within his memory.

Cold Kirby, incidentally, was not part of the Cistercian chain of properties on the plateau. In the King's hands at the time of Domesday, it was granted to the Templars, and after the suppression of that order to the Hospitallers.

(c) Scawton, SE 549836. A mile ESE of Cold Kirby, but with Flassendale and the upper end of Bradley Howl lying between them. Though Byland Abbey built the church, ostensibly to save the villagers the up-and-down journey to Old Byland, Scawton had a lay lord of the manor.⁷ The village is sited on a gently shelving shoulder, between 700 and 600 ft. Springs rise in the bottom of Bradley Howl at about 550 ft., and fetching water from here involves another steep and circuitous ascent. Mr. Anderson tells me that early in this century cottagers generally were obliged to use this source for their domestic needs. But there is a small dried-out pond in the centre of the village, and traces of another at the lower end, in the angle of the back-lane and the metalled road. The absence of any known springs on the village level indicates that these ponds were replenished only by surface run-off. Some of the bigger dwellings in the village have also had house-cisterns (see below, Section 4).

Both Cold Kirby and Scawton, and a number of individual farms in the area, are now supplied with piped water by the Ryedale Water Board from a reservoir above Cold Kirby. Scawton residents have mentioned a previous piped system from a now disused reservoir at the upper end of Scawton village, fed by rams from the Rye.

(d) Old Byland, SE 550859. At first sight, the village seems to fit into the same category as Cold Kirby and Scawton, even though the site is rather more sheltered: an upland village which grew up on the plateau for lack of room in any of the narrow ravines where water is to be found. In fact it was deliberately transferred to its present site nearly a century after Domesday. The original Begeland was down by the Rye at 350 ft., where the modern Tylas (Tilehouse) Farm now stands, SE 566868.⁸ It was on this riverside site that the Savignac monks who eventually became the Cistercians of Byland set up their second local cell - the first having been at Hood Grange below Sutton Bank - stayed for five years, and were then granted territory near Coxwold with better prospects for building a monastery to rival Rievaulx, which was a bare mile downstream from Begeland. The Third Abbot's narrative⁹ describes how, with this fresh move, it was decided to 'reduce "Bellalanda on the Moor" to a grange' and to settle the lay population - who, by contrast with the well-known case of Revesby and other Cistercian 'depopulations', had obviously not been evicted wholesale when the monks arrived - on a new site up the hill by a spring called Stutekelde. This spring, feeding the pond named by Saxton as 'Kell Trough', emerges in the small but sheer-sided howl immediately south of the village, at about 550 ft. O.D. Its name indicates a watering-place for cattle (modern 'stott'), and it involves only a couple of hundred yards' walk from the village green, with a drop of some 60 ft.

Old Byland, then, is a custom-built, almost a model village, established by the practical Cistercians as the nucleus of their sheep-farming complex. In view of the rapidly evolving interpretations by contemporary historians of the great monastic expansion of the 12th and 13th centuries,¹⁰ it is worth reiterating that lay labourers and herdsman plainly worked for and with the monks from the beginning here.

One last, post-medieval point of interest also deserves mention. Despite the comparative handiness of the 'Kell Trough', it is revealing that in the 18th century, when village water supplies on the Tabular Hills above Helmsley and Kirby Moorside were being revolutionised by the artificial watercourses or 'made rills' of Joseph Foord,¹¹ only one such watercourse was engineered on the Hambletons, and that was from the King Spring source (see below) to Old Byland, contouring right round Limperdale Head, along the southern scarp of Caydale to a point just above the mill, and thence south to the village. No other plateau village, of course, was far enough down the eastern slope to receive a gravity-fed supply from higher springs to the west.

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Before we turn to other aspects of water-supply on these uplands, we should consider briefly a few individual farms and inns on the plateau which, unlike Murton, are of post-Domesday origin.

(e) Wethercote. (Modern farm SE 524862, monastic grange site as plotted by Saxton (1598) SE 519857, 1,000 yds. SW of present site). This farm appears to have developed originally as an out-station of Murton; at the Dissolution it passed to Sir Richard Bellasis as the 'manor of Murton cum Wethercotes'. Meantime, in the closing decades of monastic ownership it had become the Abbot's demesne farm. One of the witnesses whose depositions were taken in the Wotton-Bellasis lawsuit of 1597-8, George Hutton, described his father as having been born at Wethercote and lived there over 50 years as hind to the Abbot, while George himself, also born and reared there, "helped to keep the Abbot's cattle and sheep in the grounds of Wethercote and the commons belonging thereto."¹² Cattle as well as sheep, be it noted, though the proportions of each are specified in a further statement of George Hutton's that "the said Abbot had yearly 300 wethers, 100 ewes and 100 hogs (lambs up to one year) kept there, and also 12 stotts (yearling cattle) yearly wintered there, mostly in Lymperdale, Bradeheads and Dardale." (The first two of these placenames are at the upper, western end of Caydale, NW of Old Byland - see Fig. 2. 'Dardale' appears to be a scribe's error for Cardale, which is one of various forms of what I have standardised in this article as Caydale. Cadell is another modern spelling, and Saxton varies between Caire- and Caierdale).

The choice of Wethercote as abbatial demesne is strange. By the close of the monastic period senior monastic clergy lived like country gentlemen and used their demesne lands as a lay landlord used his, for personal profit and convenience. The last Abbot of Rievaulx, for example, (according to a witness in another post-Dissolution court case¹³) used his demesne farm at Skiplam as a hunting lodge: he "did once at least yerelie in summer time come ... and ... bringing some six or eight of the convent with him did use to hunt and hawk in the groundes of Skiplam and Welburne." Wethercote may have been a going concern financially, which would contribute to the Abbot's expenses, but it is hard to believe that he would choose this exposed and waterless spot, perched on the spine of the Hambletons, not two hundred yards from Hambleton Street, for its amenities. Yet behind George Hutton's edited statements there is a clear implication of personal relationship, as of farm owner and foreman, with the Abbot whose stock he had tended and who allowed him sundry small 'perks' in return. We shall return to this odd point in a moment. Meantime there are as usual two small qualifications to be made as to the waterless appearance of the Wethercote area. Firstly, the old grange site lies in a shallow dry gully which eventually runs into the howl south of Old Byland, and in which judicious damming could have created ponds fed

by surface run-off. Secondly, behind the modern Wethercote farm is a disused quarry, some 25-30 ft. deep, the bottom of which holds water fed from an intermittent spring, at some 850 ft. O.D. It is not impossible, therefore, that either this freak underground store emerged on the surface during the Middle Ages, or wells were dug to tap it. (The likeliest destination of the stone taken from the quarry was for the farm itself, which was built, of course, after 1598).

(f) King Spring or Long Plains Farm, SE 517868: (An undated 18th century map in the County Record Office, Northallerton, refers to this site as King's Laitch or Ditch; the O.S. maps call it King Spring House; Mr. Cornforth, who farms it, prefers Long Plains). The farm stands on the 900 ft. contour, at the head of King Spring Gill, in which water breaks out at about 850 ft., a short distance below the farm. This was the spring used for the 18th century watercourse supply to Old Byland (see (d) above).

Saxton marks no buildings at all here, though the site is right in among the disputed boundaries which caused the lawsuit, and shows no water source high up the Gill (which he labels 'Sneuerdale'). It seems possible, therefore, that King Spring did not exist until after 1598, that its emergence thereafter was due to a change of pattern in the underground cisterns and channels of this part of the plateau, and even conceivably that the water which now flows out here had previously been concentrated half a mile further south, in the Wethercote area.

(g) Limekiln House (ruined) SE 490918, Dialstone House SE 518843, and possible Hambleton Hotel SE 523830, were drovers' inns in the 18th century heyday of the Scotch cattle trade down Hambleton Street. Watering facilities would be necessary, but apart from a claypond behind the last-named, there is little evidence today of water catchment at these sites. Across the road from Dialstone House there is a quarry which could conceivably have tapped a water-bearing pocket like that at Wethercote. The modern farm at Dialstone has its supply pumped from springs under the west scarp of the plateau.

4 The exploitation of water-resources

It remains to try and identify what man-made catchment systems have been provided since Bronze Age and Iron Age settlers first colonised the plateau. Field-work in this respect has given largely negative results, unsurprisingly in view of the destructible nature of most water-retaining devices before the age of reinforced concrete. The following notes may contribute something of use.

(i) Wells. I have proposed the hypothesis of wells at sites like Wethercote. Writing at the end of the 18th century, Marshall in his

Rural Economy of Yorkshire,¹⁴ has this to say of 'field wells' on the margins of the Vale of Pickering: "The skirts of the margin, formerly arable fields, but now grassland inclosures, were, on their being inclosed, equally destitute of natural and artificial watering-places. Wells were therefore sunk: the depth, 20-30 feet, according to situation. The water is raised, either by a pump or by a roller and bucket. The receptacles, stone troughs. Sometimes the well is sunk in the line of a fence, supplying two fields with water." The agricultural revolution implicit in Marshall's reference to the replacement of arable by pasture on the lower slopes of the Tabular Hills is beyond the scope of this article, but we may safely assume that 30 feet was probably a practical limit for all wells of the type that might interest us; further, in view of the nature of limestone, it seems probable that any such wells would need to be lined.

Even 20-foot wells, however, with their danger to life and limb, are rarely left unfilled once they are disused, and I have come on no surviving examples of field or house wells. Mr. A. Anderson can recall only one well, at Hambleton High House (SE 521840), and then only because a traction engine once sank into it.

(ii) House-cisterns. A catchment system mentioned to me by several people as being frequently used in farm-houses in particular, is the building of an underground cistern beneath, normally, the farm-kitchen, and fed by rain-water from the gutters of the house and farm-buildings. Thus Mr. Anderson describes how, when Scawton Rectory was burnt down, in the days before a piped supply was available, the house-cisterns of three farms in the village as well as that of the old Rectory itself were all emptied in a vain attempt to quench the fire.

Though dates are hard to come by, such installations are unlikely to go back beyond the middle of the 18th century. Marshall refers to them as "growing into general use, especially in upland situations" in 1796, and generally speaking it seems to have been newly built farmhouses, particularly on recently enclosed land, which were so equipped. It would be a daunting task, indeed, to dig a cistern under a standing building, and there are no known cases of humbler dwellings having one.¹⁵

(iii) Ponds. The improvement with earth, clay and stone of spots where rainwater naturally tends to collect, to provide a watering-place for stock, is a practice which must go back to the earliest pastoralists. From such primitive catchments, via village ponds (as at Cropton, Newton-upon-Rawcliffe and Scawton, on local limestone), to the wholly artificial claypond and Sussex dewpond (more truly known locally as 'shippun' or sheep-pond), there is a considerable evolution.

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Some of our North and East Riding clayponds are sometimes referred to as 'dewponds', and it may be as well to attempt a clear distinction before we consider the local variety in more detail. The dewponds of the South Downs were structures built to a traditional formula: earth dug out of an area up to 80 ft. across, forming an inverted cone 8-10 ft. deep, which was then lined with a 2 ft. thick base of puddled clay, lime or chalk in layers with straw packed in between.¹⁶ The distinguishing feature of the finished product is that, provided the fabric is kept in good condition, it is wholly self-replenishing, not only when rain falls regularly, but even in periods of drought. The reason for this remarkable property has yet to be completely explained, but it depends basically on the ability of a cold surface to attract condensation, and at least in part on the sea-mists which sweep in over the Downs even in summer.¹⁷

It seems that some ponds on the chalk wolds of the East Riding come very close to achieving the same degree of self-sufficiency, but our North Riding clayponds do not aspire to this self-replenishing quality. Perhaps it is the traditional Yorkshireman's caution - the 'belt-and-braces' mentality - which induced our local pond-makers to provide, in all the examples I have seen, an external source of supply; sometimes merely a limited area of uphill slope to provide surface run-off, more usually a channel dug to, say, a roadside gutter or a field-edge drain. Certainly, such ponds can be found all over the Hambleton plateau. Some have already been mentioned. Mr. A. Anderson reckons that there were, in his boyhood, some 30 clayponds in Scawton and Cold Kirby parishes. And Mr. Bell, who farms the modern Wethercote, provided the interesting detail that the purchase price of his farm, according to his deeds, included charges of one shilling each for several clayponds.¹⁸

As in the case of wells, the age of such artificial ponds is a matter of some debate. The brothers Hubbard¹⁹ developed a theory that dewponds, in the full sense of that term, were an integral part of such neolithic cattle enclosures as Cissbury, Chanctonbury, Poundbury and Maiden Castle, along with double dikes as drove-ways to and from the ponds. Some support to the theory of such an ancient origin for the dewpond on south-country chalk is provided by O. G. S. Crawford.²⁰ And, nearer home, Frank Elgee relates what he describes as 'dewponds' to systems of lynchets at Wayworth, near Kildale, and at Borrowby in Cleveland.²¹ Plainly, systematic sectioning, analysis and correlation would be needed before such ancient ponds could be placed definitively in the true dewpond category.

At the other extreme, however, Marshall and Tuke,²² writing at the very end of the 18th century, both greet the claypond as an entirely new development, while Arthur Young,²³ writing a generation earlier, did

not apparently encounter it in these parts. Marshall states flatly that "the art of making retentive pools, with clay, in loose absorbent soils, is a recent discovery, which has been hit upon in this District." A footnote on the following page of his work names Francis and Robert Gardiner, well-diggers and fishpond-makers of Drifffield, as the inventors of the claypond. Now Marshall was a much-travelled man, a sort of roving Ministry of Agriculture inspector who had already written agricultural surveys of other regions of England (though not of Sussex). We clearly cannot take his statement entirely at its face-value, but, considering it in its historical context - the era of Coke of Norfolk and 'Turnip' Townshend, of the inclosure revolution and the waning of common-field systems - we should nevertheless accept that the Gardiners were genuine pioneers, if not originators, of a much improved pond-making technique, a pastoral aid as important in its way as new breeds of sheep or new sources of winter feed. Whatever skills and procedures had existed before, it was in the last years of the 18th century that, along with larger-scale farming and planned pasturage schedules, clayponds on the Gardiner model became regular features of our limestone uplands.

Not content with recording the existence of such ponds, Marshall goes on to give detailed instructions for building your own claypond. The specification involves lime, to deter worms, earth, puddled and 'melled' clay, and on top a loose scatter of small stone "for the double purpose of guarding against drought, and for preventing the feet of cattle from injuring the clay." A process, then, not unlike the Sussex dewpond formula, but without the use of straw.²⁴ In more recent times, however, straw was certainly employed. The late Edmund Ward, the last Helmsley saddler, described to me how as a boy he watched a pond under construction being 'thatched' with sheaves of straw. Incidentally, Marshall also insists that a feeder channel was essential. "In an upland situation, where the soil is generally absorbent ... an artificial run becomes necessary." He recommends two outward-turned plough furrows with lateral branches.

So between some archaeologists' hypothesis that 'dewponds' go back to Neolithic times, and Marshall's belief that the claypond as we know it was an innovation of the 1780s, we are not left much the wiser as to what artificial catchments the medieval herdsman of Wethercote or Murton may have developed to ease their stock-watering problem. They must certainly have dammed, and perhaps deepened, suitable spots below springs and in gullies, but probably with nothing more durable than clay and earth - structures which would quickly in-fill and wash away in a few winters of neglect. Indeed, even modern clayponds soon become obliterated as they fill with silt and get overgrown.

5 The evidence of Saxton's map and the accompanying depositions

The famous Elizabethan cartographer, Christopher Saxton - then an old man - was brought to survey Old Byland in 1598. His plan was designed to accompany the evidence given by various local men (mostly septuagenarians) relating to a lawsuit between Sir Edward Wotton, whose family had acquired most of Old Byland after the Dissolution, and Sir William Bellasis, who in similar fashion held Murton and Wethercote. The dispute concerned a bridging strip of land, in the area of Long Plains and the head of Caydale, but the legal details need not concern us. What is valuable is the faded but minutely detailed 'platt' which Saxton produced (see Fig. 2), and also, as we have already seen in the case of George Hutton's testimony, some of the incidental remarks made by the witnesses whose depositions were taken at Old Byland to be forwarded, with Saxton's map, to the Court of Exchequer in London.²⁵

Saxton's plan reaches as far west as the Hambleton escarpment, but the trace reproduced in Fig. 2 concentrates on the vicinity of Old Byland village. Recognisably the same village as today, it shows the church, the green, and the back lane separating the cottages on the west of the green from the former monastic grange, here called the Cote. (The modern Grange, south of the village, was then an enclosed unit, largely left blank by Saxton, owned by a Mr. Storey).

About the village are set the three common fields, East, West and Land-end, occupying three quarters of a rough rectangle, while the fourth quarter, north-west of the village, is labelled the 'Cow Pasture'. To the east of these fields lies more pasture, Clavery Leas (the name survives on O.S. maps), with 'Oxendale' on low ground between this pasture and the river. The student of village field systems may care to note also the 'New Field' and a portion of Clavery Leas 'somytyme in tillage, now lying comon'.

One feature of Saxton's map which is not reproduced on the trace is the indication of woodland. This is largely confined to the skirts of the plateau, and is marked by the regular disposition of a round-topped tree symbol. Bearing in mind the contemporary demand of the Rievaulx and possibly other local ironworks for charcoal, new planting like the 'Newe Hag in Cairedale' has a significance. It must be doubted whether all the areas shown as wooded by Saxton in fact carried tall timber. One of the witnesses in the Wotton-Bellasis lawsuit remarked that the area in dispute would grow only thorns and crab-apples, and the same is true today of other sectors along the steep dale-sides which Saxton records as woodland.

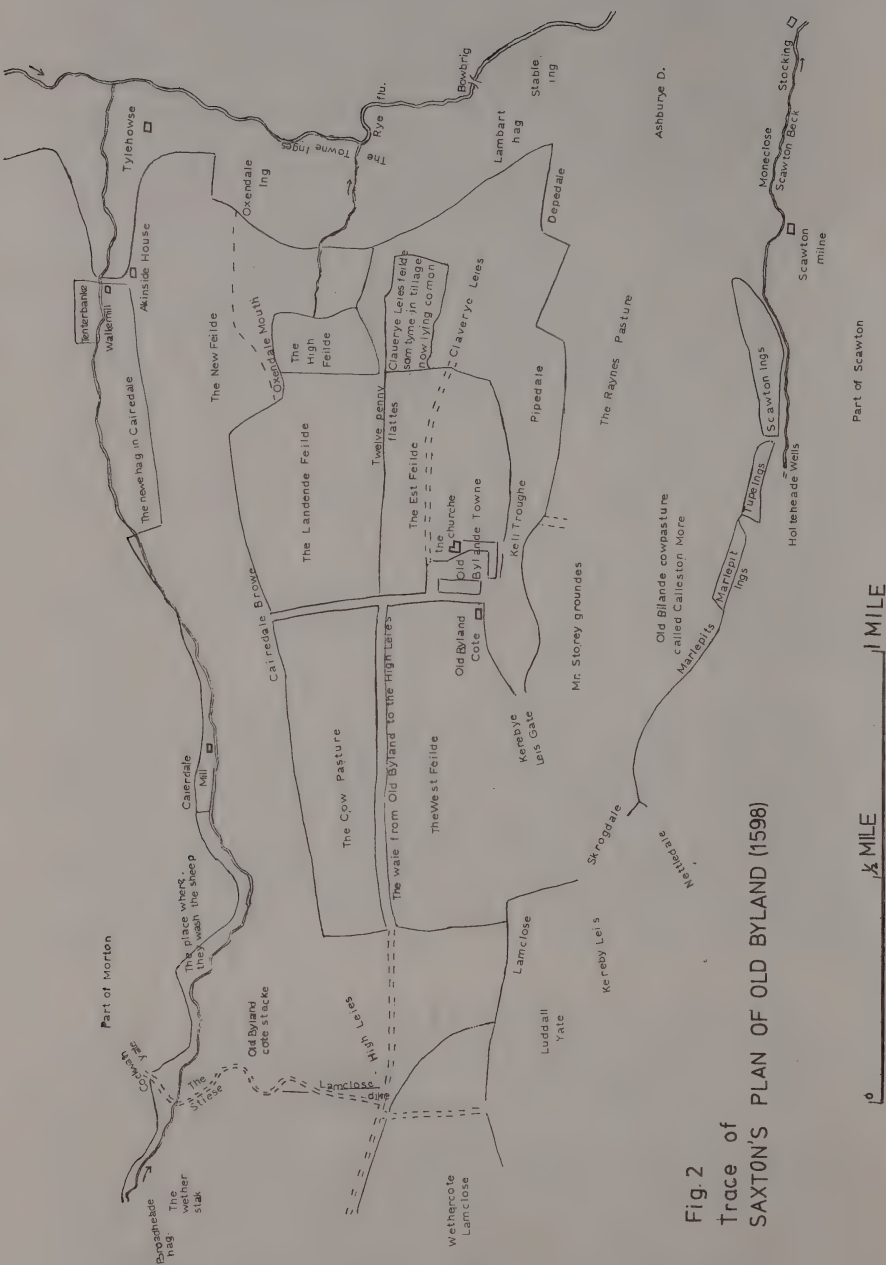


Fig. 2
Trace of
SAXTON'S PLAN OF OLD BYLAND (1598)

Further study of his plan shows that the logical pattern of stock-raising - sheep on the high plateau, cattle lower down, nearer water - seems to be borne out by, for example, the name Oxendale, an almost cavernous ravine on the west bank of the Rye, between Tilehouse and Old Byland, as well as by George Hutton's statement that the abbot's stotts wintered in the tributary valleys near the head of Caydale. And yet the two cow pastures - the area north-west of the village round the modern Mount Pleasant farm, and Calleston Moor south of Old Byland - appear as exceptions, involving no great distance measured horizontally, but a long descent to water.

There was a momentary glimpse of a possible explanation of the high NW cow pasture. Saxton marks two 'stacks' on the plateau above Caydale, one either side of the Lamb Close Dike - the boundary between Wethercote and Old Byland. Could this term 'stack' be a corruption of 'stank', a pond? Examination of the ground produced a convincingly negative answer. So - back to the depositions, since any such details entered by Saxton were likely to relate to references in the written evidence. It is George Hutton again who describes how his father and his servants "used to fell and stow wood in those grounds" (at the head of Caydale) "and with the bruse thereof help to winter those cattle, bestowing the rest for firewood and mending his hedges about the Wethercotes." This then is what was meant by a stack, a permanent, drained and fenced stand for reserves of fodder, bracken or brushwood. Exactly the same installations are still to be found in Cumberland and Northumberland and there known as 'stack-stands'.²⁶

In the same section of his deposition, Hutton goes on to give a further pointer as to how stock was watered in the same area. From Wethercote itself as far as Lamb Close Dike, "his father by his servants used to stafhirde his sheep, and the tenants of Byland stafhired on the east side. And although his father had common of windraike on the east side of the dike, and the tenants of Old Bylande Cote and Old Bylande in like sort had common by windraike on the west side, yet neither the shepherd of Old Bylande Cote nor the tenants of Old Bylande used to stafhirde their cattle or sheep on the west side of the dike."²⁷

Windraike is a term for the right of way to a watering-place, and if we now refer back to Saxton's map again, we see that the track or 'sty' running down to 'Cockwath' in Caydale zigzags across the Dike. Hence the need for windraike for herdsmen on both sides of the boundary.

The continuing importance of sheep-farming and wool-production 60 years after the departure of the monks is attested by the place-names and annotations on the map: Wethercote itself, the Lamb Closes, the "place where they wash the sheep", and not least the fulling-mill at the lower end of Caydale, with its Tenterbank on the south-facing slope across the beck, where the newly woven and fullled cloth was stretched on tenterhooks.

The pattern of sheep-farming on the plateau as exemplified in the 1598 evidence, however, had seen some modification since the period of the large-scale, integrated Cistercian system of the 13th and 14th centuries. The Huttons ran a total of 500 of the abbot's sheep (plus a further 100 of their own) on the Wethercote pastures. Another witness mentions a figure of 1,700 for the neighbouring parish - presumably Hawnby, which included Dale Town and Murton. But even these numbers are but a fraction of the flocks which, from records of annual clips, we know were on Byland granges at the time of Pegolotti's list.

The practice on Cistercian sheep-farms seems to have been as standardised as the lay-out of their monasteries. A few miles north-east of the Hambleton group, a group of four farm-names survive from a Rievaulx Abbey grange on the west side of Bilsdale. At varying heights on the dale-side there are Ewecote, Gimmercote and one of several other Wethercotes in the Ryedale area, marking the centres of the normally segregated flocks of breeding ewes, (also contributing to the monastic diet with cheese made from their milk), yearlings, and the castrated males whose wool provided the basic annual income when the Flemish or Italian buyers paid their annual visit to the great monastic woolhouses. The fourth farm-name in this group - Woolhouse Croft, close by the site of the Rievaulx woolhouse at Laskill - may mark the shearing centre. The equivalent shearing centre in the Byland group on Hambleton was probably Old Byland Cote, whence the sarplers of wool would be carried by pack-train through Scawton and past the Abbey to the Byland woolhouse at Thorpe ("Thorpe Atye Wolhous").

Other inscriptions on Saxton's map may not go so far back. But the sheep-wash in Caydale certainly, and the fulling-mill at the mouth of the same dale probably, would have been integral parts of the monastic system. The walk-mill was in existence at the Dissolution (see valuation figures below).

It was not, however, the Dissolution which began the process of fragmentation, but the Black Death nearly 200 years before. The gradual take-over thereafter of individual granges by yeoman families like the Sandwiths, who by the 16th century were farming Old Byland Cote, Snilesworth and West Newton Grange above Oswaldkirk,²⁸ involved a reversion to smaller units and thereby some less of the 'mass-production' techniques of mid-medieval Cistercian practice.

Some idea of the relative profitability of different Byland Abbey granges in this locality, about the year 1539, can be had from the Dissolution valuation.²⁹ Rents from the tenants of Old Byland amounted to £14-15-7 annually - just about £1 per head of householders. The only single item greater in value than this group of tenancies was Thorpe Grange, including the woolhouse, worth £17-13-4. The next most

valuable was the combined grange of Murton and Wethercote, at £8-6-8. Thereafter comes a wide gap until we reach Tilehouse Grange, Old Byland Cote, and the Walk-Mill, all assessed at under £2 apiece. Plainly, when one compares the value of a sheltered valley grange like Thorpe with those of upland farms, small-scale farming on the plateau was not a massively profitably occupation. Indeed a closer study of available evidence might suggest that the communities on Hambleton had reverted to little more than a subsistence economy. The one cash crop, the wool from the wethers, was probably woven in Old Byland and processed at the Caydale mill for markets no further afield than Thirsk or York.

6 Conclusion

Extensive, well-drained pastures, suitable for sheep in all but the severest winter weather, and with boundaries conveniently limited by natural features or by simple bank-and-ditch fences like the Lamb Close Dike; enough easily ploughed arable land to support small, basically pastoralist village communities; water available in dale bottoms and, haphazardly and in small quantities on higher ground; these have been the permanent characteristics of the Hambleton plateau. Economically, its zenith came with the Cistercian exploitation of its sheep-farming possibilities. There were clear limits to the human population it could support. Saxton shows 16 cottages grouped round the green at Old Byland, very much as they are today. Cold Kirby and Scawton, judging by lists of householders in the Lay Subsidy of 1301,³⁰ were about the same size in medieval times. So, after the gradual build-up from the 12th century, we may perhaps reckon on a total population for the plateau of some 300-400 individuals, with little evidence of variation over the succeeding centuries. At least, then, the plateau, with the single exception of Cold Murton, was spared mass clearances, either by the Cistercians in the 12th century or, as happened to Dale Town, by Elizabethan landlords. A reasonable balance between sheep and human inhabitants seems to have been maintained.

Acknowledgements: In particular to Mr. A. Anderson, now of Bagby, Mr. Cowley, Chief Engineer of the Ryedale Joint Water Board, the County Librarians of the North Riding and of West Sussex and their staffs, and the staff of the Public Record Office. Also, to all the farmers and residents, on the Hambleton and in the Vale of Pickering, on whose time and land I have intruded in search of information.

Footnotes:

1. Victoria County History (Yorks.) ii, pp. 195, 203, 221, 257.
2. Smith (Place Names of the North Riding) indicates a personal name rather than 'church' as the first element.
3. L. Dudley Stamp, Britain's Structure and Scenery 1946. Fontana ed., p. 98.
4. H. G. Ramm, R. W. McDowall, E. Mercer, Shielings and Bastles, Royal Comm. Hist. Mon., HMSO 1970.
5. Wombwell MSS in Hist. MSS. Comm. Var. ii, p. 6.
6. C.R.O. : MPB 32. And see note 12.
7. Victoria County History (N.R.) i, p. 555, for descent of the manor. The provision of the church by the monks is likely to have been a quid pro quo for a right of way between the new abbey and the granges on the plateau.
8. Some readers of Dugdale's Monasticon have doubted this site identification since the third abbot in his narrative refers to the settlement here as 'Bellalanda super Moram'. But this is abbatial hindsight. Writing from the new abbey in the Coxwold lowlands, dignified by the euphonious but phoney Latinised form of the name 'Byland', the abbot naturally thought of the old settlement as the one of the same name 'on the moor'. The amount of broken tile which can still be picked off the surface of the paddock at Tilehouse Farm is the reliable evidence.
9. Dugdale, Monasticon v, p. 349 et seq.
10. E.g. Colin Platt, The Monastic Grange in Medieval England, Macmillan 1969, and Bennett Hill, English Cistercian Monasteries and their Patrons in the 12th Century, U. of Illinois, 1968.
11. History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District, York 1963, pp. 211-219.
12. C.R.O., E 178/2779. Selected depositions printed in His. MSS Comm. Var. ii, p. 109 et seq.
13. J. A. Purvis, Select XVIth Century Causes in Tithe, Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record Series, cxiv, Introduction p. xi.
14. 2nd. ed., 1796, i, p. 168.
15. John Tuke, writing his General View of the Agriculture of the North Riding four years later, describes the process of digging and lining a cistern (p. 354).
16. See E. A. Martin, Dew-Ponds: History, Observation and Experiment, 1910, for detailed description of the process, and for theories as to their success in attracting condensation.
17. Martin, op. cit., records a degree of salinity in the ponds he studied.
18. Cf. again E. A. Martin, op. cit., p. 94. The Marquis of Aylesbury included in the Teases of his farms in the Pewsey, Wilts., area, a clause in regard to the construction of ponds.
19. A. J. and G. Hubbard, Neolithic Dew-ponds and Cattle-ways, 1907.

20. Archaeology in the Field, 1953, pp. 123-131.
21. Early Man in North-East Yorks. 1930, p. 218.
22. Marshall, Rural Economy of Yorkshire, 2nd ed., 1796, i, p. 127; Tuke, General View..., 1800, pp. 242-6.
23. Tour through the North of England, 1771, cf. pp. 19-20.
24. Russian scientists have been investigating the use of straw in developing 'gley', an impermeable layer formed by bacterial action on vegetable matter in swamps. See Soviet Weekly, May 20, 1972.
25. A good summary of the case is given by Professor Beresford, History on the Ground, 1957, pp. 52-62.
26. Ramm et al. (cf. note 4.), p. 54.
27. Transcript in Wombwell MSS, cf. note 12., Hist MSS. Comm. Var. ii, p. 109.
28. History of Helmsley... (cf. note 11.), p. 258 et seq.
29. Augmentation Office Roll, 32 Hy VIII, printed in Dugdale, Mon., v, p. 354.
30. Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record Series, xxi.

A Bell Beaker from Egton Bridge and its Relation to other Beaker Finds

by Raymond A. Varley

Introduction

This article records in full detail the discovery of a cist burial at Egton Bridge in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The cist was found in 1861 by workmen, and contained a Beaker and three pieces of bronze. These finds have in the past escaped the detailed publication they deserve. In recent years there has been a considerable advance in the study of Beaker Pottery. A particularly notable study has recently been published by Dr. D. L. Clarke.¹ The present publication provides a convenient occasion in the light of this recent work to record these finds in relation to other Beaker discoveries.

I THE SITE

Geographical situation and geology

The hamlet of Egton Bridge is situated at an altitude of about 300 feet O.D. (Nat. Grid ref. NZ 304055) (Fig. 1). It lies seven miles south-west of Whitby and seventeen miles south-east of Guisborough in East Cleveland on the North Yorkshire Moors. The River Esk winds its way through Egton Bridge to Whitby with becks joining it on the way. In this district, East Cleveland Hills, the topography of the moorlands is complicated by the existence of an intricate system of deep overflow channels created by glacial action,² and are formed by sandstone and ironstone of the Greater Inferior Oolite Series, capped by boulder clay. This contains much rock debris and erratics suitable for cairn and kerb building. On the moors around Egton Bridge are a profusion of round barrows,³ cairns⁴ and howes;⁵ hundreds have been excavated in the last century,⁶ many have produced Food Vessels,⁷ Collared Urns⁸ and Beakers.⁹ Also the area is rich in flints, many arrowheads, scrapers and knives have been found.

Circumstances of discovery

The Rev. Canon William Greenwell summarizes the discovery of a cist burial at Egton Bridge,¹⁰ in describing antiquarians who have excavated a large number of barrows in the Cleveland area during the nineteenth century.¹¹ The cist was found in 1861 by workmen widening a road at a place called 'Orchard Hills', it was formed of four stones with a cover. This contained a Beaker, a portion of which has been preserved, and three pieces of bronze, now lost; the inhumation had disappeared.¹²

No plan of the cist was made. However, it seems reasonable to assume that the cist was constructed of the local stone which remained in position when found by the workmen. Four upright stones and one capstone over the top contained the Beaker sherd and three pieces of bronze. These three pieces of bronze were lost at the time. No part of the Beaker base, and no remains of a crouched skeleton were found. The workmen presumably removed the inhumation before it was recorded.

II THE FINDS

The Beaker (Fig. 2)

Only a large fragment of this vessel survives; the fabric is fairly hard, patchy grey to brown, both faces, with a dark grey core, and is tempered with large amounts of grit, some of which erupts through to the surface. A complete profile of the vessel cannot be constructed, but it would be about 18 cms. high and 15.5 cms. diameter at the rim. The decoration consists of four zones, but the complete vessel would probably have had five zones. Enclosed between the single horizontal lines are oblique hatchings. This vessel with incised cordon is related to the Maritime style, and with close Rhenish parallels.¹³ The decoration on this beaker is similar to two beakers of the Primary Southern beaker group (S1) from the Netherlands.¹⁴

The Beaker belongs to Clarke's European Bell Beaker group (E).¹⁵ The British European Bell beakers show predominantly Dutch/German characteristics. A date between 1900-1800 B.C. is given for the main settlement in Wessex. This allows perhaps a hundred years or so for the European Bell beaker expansion in Britain before the second wave of Rhenish developed beakers, with new equipment, established the Wessex/Middle Rhine group in South England. In Northern Britain the parallel Northern British/Middle Rhine group settled only in very small localised pockets, introducing the novel European metal and stone associations, but hardly replacing the older beaker groups which may thus have survived much later, until the extensive Northern British/Dutch groups landed.

In Britain the European Bell beaker distribution follows in general outline the regional grouping of the All-Over-Cord beaker but with interesting differences in concentration; 6% of the sites are within fifty miles of East and South Coast tidal waters. The Yorkshire group, including the Humber estuary have eight sites.¹⁶

The Bronze association

Found with the British European Bell beaker (Fig. 2) from the stone cist at Egton Bridge were three pieces of 'bronze' which could not be

reconstructed and are now lost.¹⁷ Similarly the sherds of two fine European Bell beakers from Moytura, Co. Sligo, Ireland,¹⁸ are said to have accompanied two adult skeletons, sherds of plain ware and 'a thin piece of bronze about 12 inches long'.¹⁹ The bronze object is lost and recent work has shown that the original manuscript account, by Colonel Wood Martin, 1888, was ambiguous as to which objects were together in which of the two cists in the cairn.²⁰ The probable situation was that the upper cist held a crouched inhumation with the bronze strip whilst a lower cist held several interments with the beaker and plain sherds; this of course removes the bronze strip from association with the beakers. This piece of bronze '12 in. strip' sounds like a large dagger or short rapier, but it does not seem to have been with the beaker sherds, whereas the Egton Bridge fragments may have been a tanged copper dagger or copper trinkets.

The importance of this discussion is that these two very doubtful finds represent the only British claims for an association between European Bell beakers and tanged copper daggers. Later it appears that all the associated British tanged copper daggers are with the later Wessex/Middle Rhine or Northern British/Middle Rhine beaker groups²¹ and that the Dutch Odoorn beaker and dagger belong more convincingly with those groups than with the European Bell beaker group.²²

III DISCUSSION

The normal burial ritual associated with European Bell beakers in Britain is crouched inhumation with the body roughly North/South, the beaker standing at, and usually in front of, the feet. The orientation N/S agrees with the All-Over-Cord beaker tradition and the most frequent European Bell beaker rite, contrasting strongly with the Single Grave tradition of E/W burial. Beaker-cist burials are very scarce in eastern Yorkshire; the surface-built cist beneath the Kelleythorpe barrow,²³ and a pair of stone cists found below the pre-barrow surface in a massive central grave at Rudston barrow LXII,²⁴ are the only ones in the Wold area, where suitable stone slabs would have to be imported. A cist burial below a mound at Ingleby Greenhow²⁵ and the single grave at Egton Bridge are the only ones from the north-east Yorkshire Moors. These cist burials are the more northerly of the two broadly regional burial traditions recognised for the British Beaker cultures.²⁶

A natural mound at Ingleby Greenhow, Clay Bank, had been utilised as a barrow, which could have been, at the time of the Beaker burial, raised and smoothed by a capping of earth. Other additions may also have been made when one or more subsequent burials took place, but at the time of excavation all evidence of any such

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activities had vanished owing to erosion.²⁷ The Beaker accompanied the crouched burial in the primary stone cist and belongs to a late stage of the Northern British tradition c. 1550 B.C.²⁸

In the main the settlement areas of the Beaker People in North Yorkshire are the Yorkshire Wolds,²⁹ the Howardian Hills,³⁰ the limestone hills near Pickering,³¹ the Windypits near Helmsley,³² Hambleton Hills³³ and the Cleveland Hills.³⁴ The Yorkshire Wolds are the greatest settlement region of the beaker people in the country. Traditionally the Beaker People have been known from their burial-mounds, from which most of the Beakers have been recovered. Beaker occupation sites have been excavated at Craike Hill, Garton Slack,³⁵ and Beacon Hill, Flamborough.³⁶ The Beaker occupation on both these sites dated from the Middle Neolithic phase.³⁷

Distribution of British European Bell Beakers from Yorkshire and Humber estuary

The sherds of a fine lozenge-filled zone, British European Bell beaker comes from West Lodge Gate, Malton, North Yorkshire.³⁸ This vessel is unique in Britain as the earliest beaker form with base decoration. Basal decoration later becomes much more common on beakers of the Southern British tradition.³⁹ The nearest European parallel is from Sandersdorf in Saxo-Thuringia, a Bell beaker with cruciform base motif.⁴⁰ This beaker is from the head waters of the Elbe, which may perhaps be significant when the geographically closest zoned-lozenge, European Bell beaker to the West Lodge Gate example is the group of sherds from the Elbe mouth at Hamburg-Boberg.⁴¹ Perhaps we have in this base decoration a clue to small beaker groups crossing the North Sea direct from the Elbe mouth, coasting west along the Frisian islands which stand 200 miles from the Yorkshire coast.

At Raindale, seven miles north of Pickering, North Yorkshire, was found a complete British European Bell beaker.⁴² This fine cordoned beaker has the upper two-thirds all-over comb impressed, whilst the lower third is undecorated.⁴³ This compares very closely with the half-decorated corded beaker from Kettlethorpe, S. Cave.⁴⁴ With this beaker from Raindale we have evidence of early linkage between the North German plain and Northern Britain.⁴⁵

Sherds of a British European Bell beaker were excavated at Craike Hill in 1955, East Yorkshire, and have been reconstructed.⁴⁶ This beaker is an extreme version of the zoned lozenge beakers, such as those from West Lodge Gate,⁴⁷ and can be matched on the Rhine. The vessel from Craike Hill has the hyphenated 'ermine' motif 6,⁴⁸ and bunched narrow zones of zig-zags, both very rare features on their own on European Bell beakers, but distinctively common on beakers of the

Northern British/Dutch group, and it compares with beakers from Goodman, barrow 99, Yorkshire,⁴⁹ Scremerston, Borewell Farm, Northumberland,⁵⁰ and Uddelermeer, Apeldoorn, Netherlands.⁵¹

The sherds of a British European Bell beaker were excavated from Rudston Woldgate site 2,⁵² East Yorkshire. The rim sherds from this beaker have variants of precisely the same nature as in All-Over-Cord beaker assemblage. It shares the same range of motifs, styles and technique. The narrow-mouthed variant was rarely placed in British or European graves, but the examples from Barham, Kent,⁵³ and Langcombe, Devon,⁵⁴ compare well with the Dutch beaker from Susteren.⁵⁵

Several sherds of a typical decorated British European Bell beaker were excavated at Beacon Hill, Flamborough, East Yorkshire.⁵⁶ The vessel is decorated by hatchings between groups of horizontal comb-impressed lines. A reconstructed drawing with the sherds of this beaker can be seen in the Scarborough Museum.⁵⁷

A British European Bell beaker was found at Skipsea Peat, Whitow Bog, East Yorkshire.⁵⁸ The decoration on this vessel is cross-hatching between horizontal lines. Similar decoration is found on British European Bell beakers from Wilsford, Wiltshire,⁵⁹ and Altlussheim, East Germany.⁶⁰

From Manton Warren, Humber Estuary,⁶¹ sherds of an All-over horizontal comb impression beaker of the British European Bell group have been found. Also from the Humber Estuary, at West Keal, Hall Hill,⁶² sherds of an All-over horizontal comb impression British European Bell beaker and a zoned lattice decoration of a British European Bell beaker were found.⁶³

Possibly two further beakers of the British European Bell group come from North Yorkshire. At Ashberry Windypit, Helmsley, five fragmentary All-Over-Cord beakers⁶⁴ and a complete bowl were found with fragments of a likely British European Bell beaker.⁶⁵ The other fragments of a likely British European Bell beaker were excavated from a barrow on Broxa Moor, which is about seven miles south-west of Scarborough.⁶⁶

Acknowledgements

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More on Byland Abbey Fishponds

by J. McDonnell and G. W. Goodall

Additional evidence has been emerging concerning the monastic fishponds in the vicinity of Byland Abbey and Oldstead, first described in Ryedale Historian I (1965), 'Waterworks of Byland Abbey'; and RH II (1966), p. 66.

Mr. F. J. Banks of Oldstead Grange, who had told the present writer some years ago that he had ploughed up remnants of building stone and pottery at a point near the former large fishpond on his land (Pond C on plan, RH I, p. 34), now reported picking up, at the same spot, several lead net-weights. These were of two kinds: strips of sheet-lead coiled up like a slice of swiss roll, and weighing up to 6 oz., and a heavier type, of half-round section lead rod bent into a ring, 2" across, 1" hole in middle, weighing 14 oz. These finds together with stone slates and baked tiles, sherds of large monastic-type pots and pitchers, burnt hearth-stones, and roughly dressed corner-stones, suggest a fishermen's store-hut, possibly with a hearth for curing fish. The actual site has been repeatedly ploughed so that no trace of foundations remains in situ, but Mr. Banks estimates that the original structure (including, presumably, some tumble) covered an area some ten yards by six. It was situated on a sloping nab on the north shore of the former pond, and must have stood very close to the original water-line. A possibly comparable building was identified by Mrs. M. Gray in 1968 when excavating a medieval fishpond at Washford near Redditch in the Midlands. (See J. M. Steane, 'The Medieval Fishponds of Northamptonshire', Northamptonshire Past and Present, vol. iv no. 5, 1970/71, p. 304).

The article in RH I described the chain of ponds in the narrow valley between Oldstead Hall and Byland Abbey, and suggested that landslips midway along the valley may have masked the presence of further ponds nearer Oldstead. That the chain did extend almost to the Hall has been strongly supported by a find of monastic-type medieval pottery sherds, by Mr. P. Bradley, in the peat of the valley bottom at SE 537796. (He has also complicated the matter more by bringing up, in almost the same spot but a little deeper in the peat, Romano-British sherds of the type produced at the Cold Cam kiln (see History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District, 1963, p. 408)).

Following Mr. Bradley's discoveries, a team led by Mr. G. W. Goodall made trial borings in the valley bottom. Mr. Goodall's report on these bores is as follows:

"An 8" borehole was made into the deposits of the valley bottom at Grid ref. SE 537796 by Messrs. J. Grayson, M. K. Maw and G. W. Goodall. It passed through 4 ft. of grey clay/silt before reaching peat. As this was a trial borehole it was not logged, but it contained several layers: initially some sedge, lower down well-preserved timber and various seeds, including several fragments of hazelnut - one whole and containing a kernel. At about 16 ft. into the peat, well-preserved leaves, probably hazel, were recovered; also elytra beetle wing-cases and mycelia of fungi. The peat proved to be 18 ft. thick, below which grey clay/silt with plant and root remains was reached at the limit of the drill.

Later a second borehole was put down by Messrs. Maw, Goodall, R. H. Hayes and David Burgess (a botanist of Hull University). The bore proved abortive since water entered the hole faster than it could be removed. However, a sample was recovered from well into the peat, and this was dated by a provisional pollen analysis as Mid-Atlantic, i.e. fairly early post-glacial. This section is very similar to one taken from a bog at West Farm, Kildale, by R. H. Hayes and others. The Kildale section derived from a post-glacial swamp where the land had been subject to considerable deposition.

Work has now been adjourned until an interested botanist can be found who has enough time to conduct further study of this interesting deposit."

Reviews

Janet M. Cooper, *The Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York* (Borthwick Paper, No. 38, St. Anthony's Press, York, 1907), pp. 29.

No phase of northern English history has ever been so interesting or so uncommunicative to our age as the period separating the extinction of the Norse kingdom of York in 954 from the Norman Conquest over a century later. Fragmentary as the evidence is, it is illuminating, and this Dr. Cooper has garnered to estimate the careers of Archbishops Wulfstan (1002-1023), Aelfric (1023-1051), Cynesige (1051-1060) and Ealdred (1060-1069), who successively ruled the Northern Province till the coming of the Norman Archbishop, Thomas of Bayeux, to cover the last thirty years of the eleventh century. Wulfstan and Ealdred both held the see of Worcester together with that of York during some part of their archiepiscopacy, as had Wulfstan's predecessor Adulf since 992: so from 992 till 1023, without a break, Worcester and York were ruled in double harness by one prelate.

Such a study has been much needed, for it is the only one of its kind to appear since James Raine published his first and only volume of *Fasti Eboracenses* (1863). This study, short as it is, is a far more sophisticated and properly guarded analysis than was that of Raine, for Dr. Cooper - with the training that modern historical technique affords - is much better able to perceive and penetrate the long sequence of notoriously intricate problems which these careers throw up. She is moreover able to draw on that large body of articles devoted to Wulfstan by Professor Dorothy Whitelock - Wulfstan as homilist, as statesman, as drafter of part or all of the laws of Edward and Guthrum and of Cnut, as concerned in the Law of the Northumbrian Priests. All of these studies and her own add to our understanding of that tantalising gloom which veils for us the last days of Anglo-Saxon northern England.

Dr. Cooper brings some confirmation to earlier conjectures - that Wulfstan and Ealdred of York and Worcester were both figures of national proportions, and that Aelfric and Cynesige were also nationally significant. None of them came from the north, and it is now uncertain whether any of them was in fact a monk: what the last Anglo-Saxon kings appear to have intended by their appointments was to combat 'Northumbrian separatism' by sending men of stature and real personal influence to the See of York. Cynesige, the chronicler tells us, was in 1041 chaplain to Edward the Confessor, and such men were used by promotion to prelate as part of the political power-game. These four archbishops all in their turn co-operated with their kings, Wulfstan becoming Cnut's law drafter after 1016 and Ealdred even volunteering to crown the Conqueror in 1066 (two foreign monarchs each having need of gestures of acceptance by Anglo-Saxons of major standing).

Nationally effective as these four archbishops were, they may not have been so strong in their Province that they were able to put through Church reforms. The great reorganisation of the Church of the North had to await Thomas of Bayeux.

Alberic Stacpoole, O.S.B.

G. W. O. Addleshaw, The Pastoral Structure of the Celtic Church in Northern Britain (Borthwick Papers No. 43, St. Anthony's Press, York, 1973), pp. 30.

The Dean of Chester has made a serious and admirable attempt to arrive at some idea of the organisation through which Irish, Pictish and British monks ministered to the various peoples of Northern Britain in the early Middle Ages.

The problem is a difficult one. The evidence is scattered, good in parts, poor in others, always difficult to assess and to use. It requires a scholar of considerable expertise. The field is not one for the amateur. Dean Addleshaw does not have all the required expertise: it is clear, for example, that his knowledge of the relevant languages is at the least imperfect. Nevertheless the booklet, though seriously misleading in a number of ways, is vastly superior to some of the nonsense which has been published on the much abused topic of the Celtic Church.

After a short introduction, the booklet is divided into six parts: 1) the church in sub-Roman Britain, 2) Celtic monasticism, 3) the monasteries in Northern Britain, 4) the small monasteries, anchorites' settlements and burying grounds, 5) the later centuries of the Celtic Church, 6) the formation of dioceses and parishes. The plan is a good one: to use what is known of the church in the British Isles in the late Roman and post-Roman periods as a basis from which to attack problems about the church in Northern Britain.

The execution of the plan is, unfortunately, not so good. The main difficulty is that Dean Addleshaw has a partially incorrect understanding of his basis: the church in the late Roman and post-Roman British isles. One of his main points is an interpretation of what Patrick means by plebs. According to the Dean plebs may well have referred to an ecclesiastical unit, a large area with a church served by priests and clerks in minor orders. Plebs, then, would be a subdivision of a diocese. Such a theory should not have been put forward in ignorance of the fact that plebs is, in Irish Latin, the equivalent of Irish tuath, a people or kingdom, plebeus of Irish fer tuaithe, 'man of the people', a layman. The plebs or tuath was the group over which king and bishop ruled. Plebs referred to the people of a diocese. Error on

this point is significant since it leads to an incorrect idea of the organisation of the church among the Britons of Northern Britain.

A further fundamental difficulty is raised by Dean Addleshaw's use of the concept 'the Celtic Church'. It should be remembered, first, that no such concept ever appears in the primary sources; secondly, that the Irish and the Britons were quite unaware of belonging to a linguistic or ethnic grouping, the Celts; thirdly, that loyalty to ecclesiastical tradition was expressed, not in any attachment to the customs of a group of peoples, but in attachment to the teaching and customs of particular men like Columba. The sole basis for the concept is that British missionaries played the major role in the conversion of Ireland, that seventh century Christianity in Pictland was shaped by the influence of Iona and other Irish monasteries and that the Britons of Britain and Brittany were conscious of an ethnic and cultural unity. That is to say, there is about as much foundation for the concept of a Celtic Church as there is for the concept of a Germanic church because Anglo-Saxon missionaries played a major role in the conversion of Germany east of the Rhine and of Scandinavia; which is as much as to say, there is very little foundation.

But even if the notion of a Celtic Church were not as misleading as it is, Dean Addleshaw's use of it would be open to question. His main sources for the organisation of the seventh-century church in Northern Britain is, naturally enough, Adomnan's Life of Columba. So far so good; what is alarming is the way in which conclusions are drawn on the nature of Celtic monasticism or, worse still, the Celtic Church, on the basis of the unargued premise that Iona and its federation of subordinate monasteries were typical. It is this type of argument which leads, for example, to the conclusion that the diocesan structure of the early Irish church 'withered away' in the course of the late sixth and seventh centuries. We are not told that the Irish laws of the late seventh and early eighth centuries know of no such withering away: bishops rule dioceses co-extensive with secular kingdoms and enjoy privileges equivalent to those of a king. It is conceivable that the Irish laws are here anachronistic, but we are entitled to require convincing argument to demonstrate the point. My own opinion is that no such argument is possible.

These criticisms should not lead one to underestimate Dean Addleshaw's achievement. The booklet could only have been written by someone who had made great efforts to understand the early history of Christianity in the British Isles. It makes valuable points in a difficult field. It should not, however, be treated as final.

J. D. M. Derrett, Henry Swinburne: Civil Lawyer of York (Borthwick Papers No. 44, York, 1973).

Readers of the Ryedale Historian are, it may be confidently presumed, familiar in general with York Minster; and many of them, perhaps most, will have admired the splendid monument to Henry Swinburne, with which the fortunate possessors of Morrell's York Monuments will also be familiar. They will certainly have wondered what manner of man was Henry Swinburne.

His epitaph tells the reader nothing of his legal and worldly achievements. It records simply that he was a shield to the weaker members of society and, in particular, to widows and orphans. Here then, it is clear, is a prominent representative of that often underestimated concern for those whom modern jargon likes to describe as 'underprivileged', a charitable concern which was so notable in Elizabethan and Jacobean England.

Swinburne, who was probably born in 1551 and who died in 1624, was a great canonist and civilian, in the technical sense of the Lex Civilis and Lex Canonica. He was, that is, perhaps the greatest English authority in the field of Roman and Canon Law, a man, moreover, with a European erudition in his subject. The majestic scale of his learning can be appreciated by glancing at Appendix II (pp. 32 et seq.). Dr. Derrett explains not only something of the practical details of his legal work, but also how Swinburne, at a time when common lawyers and the canon and civil lawyers frequently clashed, was careful to avoid collision with the common lawyers while at the same time allowing himself the luxury of politely pulling their legs.

Those who wish to go further into the background against which Swinburne worked should turn to Dr. Marchant's The Church under the Law which was published at Cambridge in 1969; but Dr. Derrett's contribution to the Borthwick Papers is essential reading. In a real if limited sense it answers Thomas Gray's famous question about 'storied urn and animated bust' in the affirmative.

T. M. Charles-Edwards

